

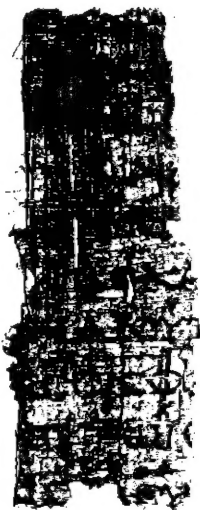
THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME LXXXII



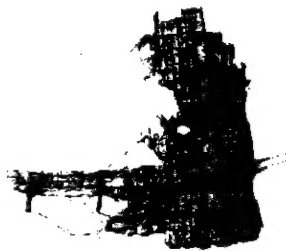
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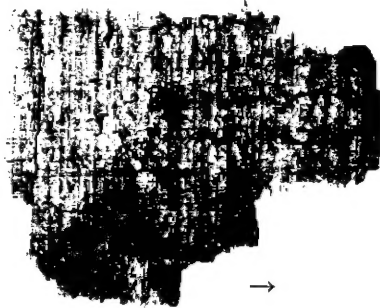
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THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME LXXXII

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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PREFACE

The volume opens with a new fragment of the apocryphon of the Jewish magicians Jannes and Jambres (5290), a thematic prelude to the texts that make up its core (5303–15), the biggest concentration of magical papyri published since *Supplementum Magicum* in 1990–92. Among them, two new Christian amulets (5306–7) in the same hand as VI 924, one of them extremely extensive, give a rare opportunity to see an Oxyrhynchite magician at work tailoring his productions to suit different clients. A large piece of a magical formulary (5304) has on its back a collection of stercoraceous medical recipes (5315), the first such text to emerge from the papyri.

Magic is flanked by the customary selection of literary and documentary papyri. Among classical texts, we may single out a new fragment of Sophocles' *Tereus* (5292), a large fragment of Euclid's *Elements*, of unusual interest for the transmission of this work (5299), and an eccentric text of Plutarch's *Alexander* (5301). Among the documents, 5319 offers rare evidence for the age of exemption from capitation taxes in Roman Egypt, and 5322–38 illustrate activities of Oxyrhynchite nobles in late antiquity, chiefly the earlier representatives of the 'Apion family' and the various *comites* called Ioannes.

Some of the papyri were first edited in dissertations (E. Nabney and L. Tagliapietra, MA UCL; S. Slattery, DPhil Oxford; A. Syrkou, PhD London; J. Yuan, PhD UCLA). Most of the texts edited by N. Gonis were discussed at a workshop in Oxford in September 2015 (with G. Azzarello, A. Benaissa, T. M. Hickey, S. Kovarik, R. Mazza, B. Palme).

D. Colomo offered invaluable help with numerous conservation, imaging, and editorial issues. A. Benaissa commented on most of the texts in sections II, III, and VI; P. J. Parsons advised on a number of texts in sections II, III, and VII, J. D. Thomas on others in section VI, and D. W. Rathbone on 5319. F. Maltomini wishes to thank I. Andorlini and G. Messeri for advice on specific points.

From start to finish, this volume has profited immensely from the insight and scholarship of W. B. Henry. There is hardly any page in it that he has not improved in multiple ways. The indexes and typesetting are also his work.

As before, we are indebted to the Arts and Humanities Research Council, without whose grants the research published in this volume would have been impossible, and to the British Academy for its continuing support.

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SB = S. Beresford	LMB = L. M. Bortolani	AC = A. Cairncross	DAF = D. A. Fisher
NG = N. Gonis	WBH = W. B. Henry	MM = M. Malouta	FM = F. Maltomini
CM = C. Meliadó	EN = E. Nabney	MCS = M. C. Scappaticcio	SS = S. Slattery
AS = A. Syrkou	LT = L. Tagliapietra	JDT = J. D. Thomas	HW = H. Whitehouse
AW = A. Wouters	JY = J. Yuan		

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation; see *CE* 7 (1932) 262–9. It may be summarized as follows:

$a\beta\gamma$	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
...	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
[$a\beta\gamma$]	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
[. . .]	Approximately three letters are lost
()	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol
[[$a\beta\gamma$]]	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
$\tilde{a}\beta\gamma$	The letters are added above the line
$\langle a\beta\gamma \rangle$	The letters are added by the editor
{ $a\beta\gamma$ }	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor
v	A space of approximately the width of an average letter is left blank

Bold arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those of the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets* at <http://papyri.info/docs/checklist>. An earlier version, now largely superseded, remains available at <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html>; J. F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca* (BASP Suppl. 9, 52001), is the most recent printed edition.

I. THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

5290. JANNES AND JAMBRES

40 5B.108/D(4-5)a

7.5 × 13.8 cm

Fourth century
Plate I

The outer half of a leaf of a papyrus codex preserved to its full height with 18 lines on each side. Overlined numbers centred in the upper margin indicate that the ↓ side is p. 25 and the → side p. 26 of the codex. The lower margin is about 2.7 cm deep, the upper margin about 1 cm deep, and the outer margin about 2 cm wide; the written area measured approximately 9 × 10 cm, and a line held about 20 letters on average. The codex may be assigned to Turner's Group 9 (*Typology* 21).

The hand is an example of the Biblical Majuscule. There is a little evidence of shading (note e.g. the thin oblique of ν at ↓ 13), but the scribe is not consistent in this respect; uprights and cross-strokes are commonly of the same thickness. The arms of κ are not separated from its upright. There are small hooks or thickenings at the ends of some strokes, but decoration of this kind is not consistently applied: contrast e.g. the κ in → 18, with hooks at the top of the upright and the end of the lower arm and a thickening at the end of the upper arm, with the apparently undecorated form in the previous line. A date in the fourth century seems fairly likely: cf. e.g. XIII 1621 (pl. V, *GBEBP* 13b), assigned to the fourth century.

Nomina sacra of the usual kind are found at → 4 and 17 ($\overline{\theta\nu}$, $\overline{\theta\nu}$). Iota adscript is not written. There are no itacistic spellings. The apostrophe stands between two words at ↓ 5 ($\pi\nu\rho'\omicron\nu$) and between two gammas at ↓ 6; cf. *GMAW*² p. 11. Diaeresis is written on initial ι at least twice (↓ 4, 9).

The start of the text (↓ 1-8) overlaps P. Chester Beatty XVI 5a+ ↓ 12-16, the passage introducing the dialogue between Jannes and his mother that precedes Jannes' death, but the rest is new. What survives of 5290 seems to give a fuller version of the dialogue than P. Chester Beatty, though many details remain unclear. Jannes appears to state at → 2-5 that he has gone astray, and it is tempting to find here a speech of penitence, but his subsequent damnation would be surprising if he had already repented. Perhaps he realizes his error but does not repent fully until he has died and experienced the horrors of hell.

The preceding 24 pages of the codex will have held about 8640 (20 × 18 × 24) letters, and P. Chester Beatty XVI as currently reconstructed may have had about the same amount of text in the part preceding 5a+ ↓ 12: cf. Pietersma (as below) 73-8 on the reconstruction.

Four other papyri of the book have been published so far. Much the largest is P. Chester Beatty XVI (cited below as 'P. Chester Beatty'), a codex assigned to the fourth century. The editio princeps is A. Pietersma, *The Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres the Magicians* (1994), cited below by the editor's name. Pietersma also includes the fragments in the third-century P. Vindob. G 29456 + 29828 v. (263-74) and a related Latin text in an eleventh-century manu-

script, London, BL, Cotton Tiberius B V, part I, f. 87 r. (275–81); further fragments of the Vienna roll (P. Vindob. G 180 and 282.49 v.) are published by Pietersma in *BASP* 49 (2012) 21–9. The two remaining papyri, P. Mich. inv. 4925 v. and the codex fragment P. Heid. inv. G 1016, both assigned to the fourth century, are edited by G. Schmelz, *Pap. Congr. XXII* (2001) 1199–1212. M. Hirschberger, ‘Die Magier des Pharao—Das Buch der Worte von Jannes und Jambres in seinem Kontext’, in ead. (ed.), *Jüdisch-hellenistische Literatur in ihrem interkulturellen Kontext* (2012) 213–65, gives in an appendix (229–65) an edition and translation

↓	→	
		κς [
]
		]νοδ[.]απεχω
		οπλαωνμε[
		]υτησκαιεστη
		εγωιαννης[
		]ωναυτηαπο
		επλανηθην[
		]μητερδιαταϊερα
5	5	τοσθικαιαντ[
		]εδιατοπυρ'ου
		δυναμειαντο[
		] 'γικαιπροσε
		τοτοιουτομ[
		] ηκουπολλη
		λεγειαυτω[
		] υνασαιγαρμε
		τουδιατιουν[
		] διαταϊερασταν
		.οιουτωσσκ[
10	10	] ςθησφη[.] . . .]
		πεκριθησει[
		] εειπενκαω
		ιαννηςκκλη[
		] σομαιτεκνον
		φανημητε[
		] νεπικαλεση
		.ημ. ναψαθα[
		] ματιτου . . .
		.ουσιαλθεσω[
15	15	] .αρισθηση . . .
		. . . ςυποαλλο[
		] .εοψηγηδε . . .
		επικαλεσαιου[
		] αεισαντονει
		στονθνακα[
		] ονανθρωπε
		ωσθελεισκαι[

↓

7] , the lower right-hand corner of α, λ, δ 10]ς, the right-hand tips] , perhaps ν or κ
 11] , an upright joined by a short crossbar at the top on the right 14 . . . , first a descending oblique,
 e.g. ν 16] , high and low traces

→

2 ς[, or φ[3] , the lower left-hand corner of α or δ 5 φ[, the left-hand edge
 7] , an upright on the edge 9 . φ , tops only 10 κρ , lower parts only] , an upright

including all the known text except the fragments published by Pietersma in the same year. Pietersma's *Jannes und Jambres* (2013) includes a complete translation into German with notes. See also W. B. Henry, 'Notes on *Jannes and Jambres* (P. Chester Beatty XVI)', forthcoming in *ZPE*. The recently discovered fragment of an Ethiopic translation is expected to shed new light on the numerous problems of reconstruction.

In the articulated transcript, the text preserved in P. Chester Beatty stands between half-brackets.

↓	κ̄ε	→	κ̄ς
	.....]ν· ό δ[ε] ἀπεχώ-		ό πλανών με [.....
	ρη'σεν ἀπ' α]ύτης και ἔστ'η		ἐγώ Ἰάννης ς[.....
	'μακρ'άν λέγ]ων αὐ'τῆ· ἀπό-		ἐπλανήθην ἀ[πό
	κτηθί' μου,] 'μῆτερ, δι'ὰ 'τά ἱερ'ά		τος θ(εο)ῦ και ἀντ[.....
5	.....]ε 'διά τὸ πῦρ οὐ	5	δυνάμει αὐτοῦ[.....
	δύναμ'αι ε]γγίσει πρός σε		τὸ τοιοῦτον μ[.....
	.....] ηροι 'πολλή'		λέγει αὐτῷ η [.....
	..... δ]ύνασαι γάρ με		του δια τί ουν [.....
	.....] δια τὰ ἱερά· ὅταν		οιουτως κκ[..... ἀ-
10	.....]ςθῆς ὄψη [.....]	10	πεκρίθης ει [.....
	..... ἡ δ]έ εἶπεν κα ω		Ἰάννης κκλη[.....
	.....]σομαι, τέκνον,		φανην μητε[.....
	.....]ν ἐπικαλέσῃ		μή μου ἄψασθα[ι
	.....]ματι τονν		ουσια ἦλθεσσω[.....
15	..... κα]θαρισθήσῃ	15	..... ς ὑπὸ ἄλλο[.....
	.....] ε ὄψη ηδε		ἐπικαλεσαι ου[.....
	.....]α εἰς αὐτὸν ει		στον θ(εο)ν ἵνα κα[.....
	.....]ου ἄνθρωπε		ὡς θέλεις και [.....

'... He went away from her and stood at a distance (saying) to her "Keep away (from me), mother, because of the sacred things ... because of the fire I cannot draw near to you ... much ... for you are (not (?)) able to ... me ... because of the sacred things. When you ... you will see ... (She) said ... I shall ..., child, ... you invoke ... you will be purified ... you will see ... to him ... man who mislead me ... I, Jannes ... went astray (from) ... god and ... his (?) power ... such ... says to him ... why ... you answered ... Jannes ... harsh (?) ... not to touch me ... you (?) came ... by other ... invoke ... god so that ... as you wish and ...'

↓

1-8 The overlapping part of P. Chester Beatty (5a⁺ ↓ 11-16) runs as follows in Pietersma's reconstruction (205):

.....] [.]υσα ἡ μήτ[η]ρ ᾧ[δοποιήσατο
 αὐ]τῶ φίλησα[ι] αὐτόν· θα[.]υσα[ε δε
 . . .]· εν ἀπ' αὐτῆς και ἐστ[η] μακρο[ὰν και εἶπεν
 αὐ]τῆ· Απόστητι, μήτηρ, δ[.] . . . α ἱερ[.
 . . .] δια τὸ πῦρ οὐ δύναμ[αι] [.] . . .
 . . .]· πολλή, μήτηρ·

Hirschberger (247 nn. 207-12) proposes προσε[λθ]ο[υ]σα (11), ᾧ[δύρατο ἐπ' αὐ]τῶ φίλησα[ι] αὐτόν θε[λ]ουσα· [ὁ δὲ Ἰάννης ἐφυ]γεν (11-13), δ[ιὰ] τὰ ἱερ[ά μου και] (14-15), and ἡ γ[ὰρ φιλ]δ[ξ] πολλή (15-16, after Pietersma 210). 5290 confirms her ὁ δέ (1) and δια τὰ ἱερά (4). Before ἀπ' αὐτῆς in P. Chester Beatty 5a⁺ ↓ 13, Pietersma 210 suggested e.g. ἀπέδραμεν, but no doubt it had ἀπεχώρη]σαν, like 5290; then instead of Pietersma's και εἶπεν it will no doubt have had the participle (λέγ]ων) as in 5290. At 3-4, 5290 seems to have had a longer text than P. Chester Beatty (5a⁺ ↓ 14), but it is easy to supply ἀπό[ε]στηθί μου] in place of P. Chester Beatty's ἀπόστητι: cf. e.g. P. Heid. inv. G 1016 r. 4 ἡ βύρ]σα ἀπόλλυτε where P. Chester Beatty 2h3g ↓ 1 has the pronoun (| μου ἀπόλλυται). At the end of P. Chester Beatty 5a⁺ ↓ 14, Pietersma shows space for only 5 letters, but a space of the same width appears to have held 7 letters (αυλεγων) at the end of the preceding line, and there is no reason to doubt whether the two papyri agreed here. On the other hand, as WBH notes, considerations of spacing suggest that P. Chester Beatty had after δύναμ[αι (15) only ἐγγίαι where 5290 has ἐγγίαι πρόσ σε. The trace at the start of P. Chester Beatty 5a⁺ ↓ 16 does not point to any letter in particular, and σο]ι may have stood at the start of the line, as in 5290 7. For the remaining problems, see the notes below.

1]γ. Perhaps e.g. θέλουσα φι]λήσαι αὐτό]γ: cf. Hirschberger's proposal φιλησα[ι] αὐτόν θε[λ]ουσα in P. Chester Beatty 5a⁺ ↓ 12.

4-5 δια τὰ ἱερά | [.....]ε δια τὸ πῦρ. Perhaps another imperative stood at the start of 5, e.g. και ἀπεχ]ε. The two phrases δια τὰ ἱερά and δια τὸ πῦρ may explain the imperative or imperatives in lines 3-5, with οὐ | [δύναμαι (5-6) beginning a new sentence. Hirschberger however (247) takes both with οὐ δύναμαι.

It is unclear what τὸ πῦρ and τὰ ἱερά refer to. Hirschberger 247 translates her δ[ιὰ] τὰ ἱερ[ά μου] as 'Wegen meiner Opfer' and comments (221) 'Die Textreste lassen vermuten, dass Jannes' heidnische Opferhandlungen nicht nur das Unheil nicht abzuwenden vermochten, sondern sich in der Stunde seines Todes in eine Art Barriere von Höllenfeuer verwandeln, die ihn von den Seinen trennt'. WBH suggests that Jannes is engaged in sacred rites and has a sacred fire blazing, and his mother, being impure, must not draw near. For Jannes' priestly lineage, cf. P. Mich. inv. 4925 v. (Schmeltz 1202-7). Pietersma 209-10 argues that τὸ πῦρ may be a reference to fever or to a conflagration 'which may have incinerated his house and him therewith', preferring the latter explanation; in his 2013 translation (65), he indicates a preference for the former. But with Hirschberger's δια τὰ ἱερά confirmed, neither of these options now seems likely.

8]δ]ύνασαι. The vocative μήτηρ is likely at the start, as in P. Chester Beatty 5a⁺ ↓ 16. Then the two papyri diverge: in P. Chester Beatty, Jannes' speech ends and his mother replies, while in 5290, Jannes' speech evidently continues (γάρ). The gap between μήτηρ and δ]ύνασαι could be filled by οὐ.

10]εθῆ: probably an aorist subjunctive in the second person singular after ὄταν (9).

12-14 I have considered reading and supplying ἐλεύ]σομαι, τέκνον, | [πρός σε ἐά]ν ἐπικαλέ]σῃ | [με. This could then be a version of the speech of the mother beginning in P. Chester Beatty 5a⁺ ↓ 21 εἶπεν αὐ]τῶ· ἐλεύσομαι πρόσ [σε]. WBH however argues that the matching text, being limited to]σομαι, with

different text on either side in the two papyri, is insufficient to establish an overlap.

15 κα[θαρισθήσῃ. The verb may be used of curing leprosy: cf. P. Heid. inv. G 1016 r. 4 with Schmelz's note (p. 1210). Perhaps Jannes' mother is seeking to comfort her son and to convince him that he will be cured of his affliction.

18 —→1 ἄνθρωπε | ὁ πλανῶν με. These words are unlikely to be addressed to Jannes by his mother. P. Chester Beatty 5a† ↓ 25 has a reference to a demon (δα)ιμόνιο[ν], followed by a part of the verb πλανᾶω (26]πλανα[). Jannes is perhaps here addressing a demon with a rebuke. WBH, taking the mother as the speaker, suggests that she here supposes the person with whom she is conversing to be not Jannes after all but someone else deceiving (πλανῶν) her by impersonating him.

→

3-4 ἐπλανήθην ἀ[πὸ]]τος θ(εο)ῦ. Cf. LXX Ba. 4.28 πλανηθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. -]τος will be a genitive in agreement with θ(εο)ῦ.

4 E.g. ἀντ[εστάθην τῆ. Cf. P. Chester Beatty 3ab → 16-17 ἐκτω θ(ε)οῦ ἡ ἐνεργοῦσα [...] διὸ ἐγὼ θέλων ἀντιστα[θῆναι.

9 οἰουτως. Not apparently τοιοῦτως: no crossbar is visible at the start.

13 Jannes is presumably speaking at this point, possibly once more urging his mother not to come near him. A perhaps more likely scenario, since he is now very close to death, is that he is addressing someone who has come to escort him to Hades: cf. P. Chester Beatty 2a ↓.

14 ἡλθεω[; perhaps ἦλθεω ω[, addressing the same person as in the previous line.

16-17 These lines seem to give an invocation (by Jannes?) of God, or perhaps a reference to his failure to call upon God, in keeping with the theme of 3-5.

WBH tentatively proposes the following reconstruction:

↓

.]ν· ὁ δ[ε] ἀπεχώ-
ρη'εν ἀπ' α]ὐτῆς καὶ ἔστ' ἡ
'μακρ' ἀν λέγ]ων αὐ' τῆ· 'ἀπό-
στηθί' μου,] 'μήτηρ· δι' ἀ' τὰ ἱερ' ἄ,
5 μάλιστα δ] ἐ' διὰ τὸ πῦρ οὐ
δύναμ' αἰ ἐ]γγίαι πρὸς σε.
ἀπορία δὲ ἦ] ὄη σοι 'πολλή',
μήτηρ· οὐ δ] ἴνασαι γάρ με
νῦν ἰδεῖν] διὰ τὰ ἱερά· ὅταν
10 δὲ καθαρι]σθῆς, ὄψῃ, ν[ῦν]
δὲ οὐχί· ἡ δ] ἐ' εἶπεν· 'κἀγὼ
καθαρισθῆ]σομαι, τέκνον·'
ὁ δὲ φησι]ν· 'ἐπικαλέσῃ
ἐν τῷ ὀνό]ματι τὸν ὕψι-
15 τον καὶ κα]θαρισθήσῃ . .
.] με ὄψῃ· ἡ δὲ . .
. . . βλέψας] α εἰς αὐτὸν εἶ-
πεν· 'ἀπέρχ]ου, ἄνθρωπε

→

ὁ πλανῶν με·' [ὁ δὲ εἶπεν·
'ἐγὼ Ἰάννης ὁ [υἱός σου
ἐπλανήθην ἀ]πὸ τοῦ ζῶν-
τος θ(εο)ῦ καὶ ἀντ[εστάθην τῆ
5 δυνάμει αὐτο]ῦ· μή λέγε οὐν
τὸ τοιοῦτον, μήτηρ·' καὶ
λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ μ[ήτηρ κατ' αὐ-
τοῦ· 'διὰ τί οὐν ἐ]πιτιμῶν
μοι οὕτως κκ[ληρώς νῦν ἀ-
10 πεκρίθης; εἴπ]εν δὲ αὐτῆ ὁ
Ἰάννης· 'κκλη]ρός σοι ἐ-
φάνην, μήτε]ρ, κελεύω
μή μου ἄψα]στα[ν· οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἐ-
ξουσία ἦλθε]ς ὧν λέγω . . .
15 ς ὑπὸ ἄλλο[.
ἐπικά]λεσαι οὐδ' ἔν τὸν ὕψι-
στον θ(εο)ν ἵνα κα]θαρισθῆς
ὡς θέλεις καὶ ἴ]θης με . . .

'... He went away from her and stood at a distance, (saying) to her: "Keep away (from me), mother: because of the sacred rites, (and especially) because of the fire, I cannot draw near to you. There is (now) much (perplexity) for you, (mother): for you are (not) able (to see) me (now) because of the sacred rites. When (you are purified), you will see, (but not now)." (She) said: "(Will) I too (be purified), child?" (He) said: "you will invoke (in his name (?)) the (most high and) you will be purified ... you will see (me)." She (said, ... looking) towards him: "(Go away), man who mislead me." (He) said: "I, Jannes, (your son,) went astray (from the living) god and opposed his power. (Do not then say) such a thing, (mother)." (The mother) said to him, (against (?) him): "Why then did you answer now (rebuking) me so (harshly)?" Jannes said (to her): "I seemed harsh (to you), mother, (ordering you) not to touch me: (for) you did (not) come (with) power (over what I speak of) ... by other ... Invoke (then the most high) god so that (you may be purified) as you wish and (see me)'

S. BERESFORD

5291. PHILO, *DE SACRIFICIIS ABELIS ET CAINI* 32-3

39 5B.118/K(1)c

5.1 x 4 cm

Third century
Frontispiece

The lower outer corner of IX 1173 fol. 9, with remains of four lines on each side. The lower margin is preserved to a depth of 2 cm and the outer margin to a width of 2 cm. The part published in volume IX gives on the ↓ side *Sacr.* 31-2 (i 214.12-215.5 Cohn) and on the → side *Sacr.* 32 (i 215.7-18 Cohn). Further pieces of the Oxyrhynchus Philo codex, recovered from kôm Ali El Gamman, have been published as XI 1356, XVIII 2158, PSI XI 1207, and P. Haun. I 8; the inventory number of 2158, 5B.85/D, suggests that it was found at approximately the same time in the fifth excavation season as the present scrap. See in general on the finds from kôm Ali El Gamman M. S. Funghi and G. Messeri Savorelli, *Tyche* 7 (1992) 75-9. 1356 fr. 3 (*Sacr.* 42-3, 45) is the only other fragment of *Sacr.* remaining from the codex, and the only other example of this hand. For the composition of the codex, see J. R. Royse, *BASP* 17 (1980) 155-65, with references to earlier discussions. Royse (160) argues that *Sacr.* will have taken up the first 50 pages, placing 1173 fol. 9 at pp. 11-12 and 1356 fr. 3 at pp. 15-16.

A rare compound word receives an interaspirate and an apostrophe between the parts (↓ 23), and there are three high stops on the → side (22, 23, 24). It is possible, but not certain, that these signs are a later addition: each of the first two stops is written close to the preceding letter, and the third is placed under the crossbar of the τ that follows the break.

The text is collated with Cohn's edition, and the sigla are his: see vol. i of the Cohn-Wendland edition, pp. lxxxvii-lxxxviii and p. cxiv, for a brief account of the manuscripts used and table of sigla. 'Pap' is the papyrus codex Paris Suppl. gr. 1120 (ed. V. Scheil, *Mém. ... de la Mission Arch. Franç. au Caire* IX.2 (1893)), now also assigned to the third century: cf. e.g. T. C. Skeat, *NT* 43 (1997) 26 = *Collected Biblical Writings* (2004) 184-5. There are no new readings. In two places, the new evidence suggests that this papyrus, like Pap, included in the list of qualities words doubted by Cohn on grounds of repetition (↓ 23, → 20: see n.), and at → 25, it appears to have agreed with the majority of the manuscripts in respect of word order where

Cohn prefers the minority reading, given by Pap.

The lines are numbered from the top of the leaf.

↓ (i 215.5-7 Cohn)

21 κλημων δυσερις διαβολος χαννος α]π[α] . (S32)
 τεων αγυρτης εικαιος αμαθης] αγαισθη
 τος ασυμφωνος απιστος απ]ειθης αφ'η
 νιαστης γοης ειρων κερκωψ]δυ]κυπονο

→ (i 215.19-21 Cohn)

22 λος· εκκ[εχυμενος κωπτικος τρωκτης η (S32)
 λιθιος· βαρυδ[αιμονιας εμπεφορημενος
 ακρατου· τοια[υτα της περικαλλους και πε S33
 25 ριμαχητου τ[α

↓

21] : a short vertical stroke in the right-hand margin. Its purpose (if any) is unclear.

23 A² omits *απιστος*, and it is bracketed by Cohn, but 5291 will have had it, to judge by the space available on the left. The word makes a second appearance in this list at 215.16, where it is preserved in this copy (→ 16).

23-4 αφ'η]ν[ιαστης. For the use of the apostrophe between the parts of a compound word, and for the interaspirate (as at 14, 15), cf. e.g. *GMAW*² p. 11 with n. 49. The breathing is an example of Turner's form 2.

→

One whole line is missing between the upper and lower fragments. The following arrangement is probable:

20 εθε[λεθρος δημοκοπος δοξοκοπος κακοι
 [κονομος κληραυχην θηλυδριας εξιτη]

Cohn omits *δοξοκοπος*, with A²BG¹, but it is present in the rest of the tradition. The word appeared previously on this page at 13 (215.14 Cohn), where Cohn does not record any variation in the manuscripts. For the problem, cf. above on ↓ 23.

22 *τρωκτης*, the reading of Pap, adopted by Cohn, suits the space. One of the corrupt variant readings recorded by Cohn (*τρωκτικός* MA¹G¹, *ετρωτικός* A^{2nc}G²HPUFN, *τρωτικός* A^{2pc}) could perhaps have stood here, but this seems less likely.

25 After *περιμαχήτου*, Pap MA¹G¹ have *ἡδονῆς ἐστι τὰ μεγάλα μυστήρια*, adopted by Cohn; 5291 will have had the majority reading *τὰ μεγάλα μυστήρια ἡδονῆς ἐστιν*. (H¹P¹ have a different sentence, *τῆς μὲν οὖν περικαλλοῦς καὶ περιμαχήτου ἡδονῆς τὰ μεγάλα μυστήρια τίς ἀγνοεῖ τῶν βροτῶν;*)

D. A. FISHER

II. NEW CLASSICAL TEXT

5292. SOPHOCLES, *TEREUS*

100/97(b)

7.4 × 13.3 cm

Early second century

Frontispiece

The upper parts of two columns. The text runs parallel to the fibres. The intercolumnium is 1.6 cm wide at its narrowest, and the upper margin is preserved to a depth of 2.6 cm. There is much surplus ink (possibly offset). The back is blank.

The hand is of the same type as that of the Hawara Homer (*GMAW*² 13: 'Roman Uncial'). There is some shading, and uprights and obliques are freely decorated. The hand of XXXII 2634 (lyric, now Trag. Adesp. 660), assigned to the early second century, is similar in most respects.

Initial iota receives a diaeresis (ii 6). There are no other lection signs in the text; elision is effected but not marked (ii 1, 2, 5, 8, 19, 24). Iota adscript is not written in the one place where it is called for (ii 4). Paragraphus is used to mark change of speaker, and in two places it is accompanied by a marginal speaker indication (ii 8, 10). There is no sign that more than one hand has contributed.

The first three lines of col. ii overlap Soph. fr. 583.10–12, the end of an extract attributed to Sophocles' *Tereus* in Stob. 4.22.45 (iv 517.15–518.5 Hense). The preserved line-ends of col. i do not overlap the earlier part of the extract. If the quoted part began immediately below the last preserved line-end (i 19), col. i will have held 28 lines. The first ten lines of col. ii and the blank space above the eleventh occupy an area 4.4 cm high. The column height will thus have been at least 12.3 cm. The true figure may be considerably higher. For example, XIX 2224 + XLIV 3152 (Eur. *Hipp.*), copied on the front of a roll in a hand of the second century, has a column height estimated at 20.9 cm; LXXVIII 5131 (Eur. *Ino?*), copied on the front of a roll in a third-century hand, has a column height of at least 19 cm. See in general Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 119–25.

Col. ii gives the beginnings of trimeters, and it is possible but not certain that the line-ends of col. i also belong to trimeters. The extract in Stobaeus, beginning *νὺν δ'*, cannot be the opening of a speech, but there is no way of determining whether the earlier part of the speech is represented in the papyrus.

The speaker of the lines quoted by Stobaeus is universally and no doubt rightly taken to be Procne. The papyrus shows that her speech continued for four lines after the part previously known (ii 4–7). There follows a two-line intervention from the chorus-leader (8–9), perhaps including an entrance announcement, and then a short passage of distichomythia (10–17) in which a speaker identified as a shepherd (10 *mg.*) converses with his mistress (10 *δέσποινα*). Their dialogue appears to be concerned with some news that he wishes to convey (cf. 11 *θέλων*, 13 *λόγων*, 15 *φράσειν*, 16 *λέξαι*). The fragment ends with the opening of a passage of past-tense

narrative or 'messenger-speech' (18ff.) delivered by the shepherd (cf. 18 εἶπρον, 23 ἔκρηψ).

The extract in Stobaeus was placed by F. G. Welcker, *Die griechischen Tragödien ...* i (1839) 377, in a prologue speech delivered by Procne. N. C. Hourmouziades, in J. H. Betts et al. (edd.), *Studies in Honour of T. B. L. Webster* i (1986) 134–42, located it instead in the first episode, and proposed a reconstruction based in part on the opening of *Trachiniae*: 'Procne communicates to the Chorus her feelings of loneliness and homesickness. Their conversation is interrupted by the entrance of a messenger followed by Philomela' (139, cf. 136–7). L. Coo, *TAPA* 143 (2013) 371–2, also argues that the fragment came early in the play. 5292 now shows that it belongs after the entry of the chorus, and the new evidence is compatible with a reconstruction such as that proposed by Hourmouziades.

The new text includes a distinctively Sophoclean form at ii 20 (ἤμων), but a word hitherto confined to Euripides in early Greek may have been used at ii 24; see n.

Other papyrus evidence for this play is limited to the hypothesis of a *Tereus* assumed to be that of Sophocles in XLII 3013 and a reference in LXXXVI 5093 fr. 1+2 → iv 15–22. Both are discussed by P. Scattolin in G. Bastianini (ed.), *I papiri di Eschilo e di Sofocle* (2013) 119–41, and 3013 by C. Meccariello, *Le ipotesi narrative dei drammi euripidei* (2014) 359–68. On the play in general, see A. H. Sommerstein et al. (edd.), *Sophocles: Selected Fragmentary Plays* (2006–12) i 141–95, ii 261–5; L. Coo, *TAPA* 143 (2013) 349–84.

Tragic fragments are cited from *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. I am grateful to P. J. Finglass (PJF), W. B. Henry (WBH), and D. J. Mastronarde (DJM) for their comments.

10

II. NEW CLASSICAL TEXT

Col. i

Col. ii

			αιδεισαη[
			καιταυτε[
			χρεωνεπ[
			νομωμεν[
5	5		ειδεκτοιο[
			ϊδομικαι[
			τογαρπο[
		χ̄	αλλευτελ[
			χρηστηνφ[
10	10	πο ^h[	δεσποινα[.] [
			θελωντι[
			ουκουνδ[
			λογωνμε[
			ορκονγαρ[
15	15		φρασεινα[
			λεξασα[
			κοινων[
			ειρπονμ[
			αλλεξαγρα[
20	20		οσημινερ[
		]	στειχωνδ[
		]	ενθενχοα[
		]	εστηνυπο[
		]	...αμνυπ[
	25		]...π...[

Unplaced fragment

]νε[

Col. i	Col. ii		
] κον</td <td></td> <td>αἰ δ' εἰς ἀήθ[η δώμαθ', αἰ δ' ἐπίρροθα.</td> <td>Soph. fr. 583.10</td>		αἰ δ' εἰς ἀήθ[η δώμαθ', αἰ δ' ἐπίρροθα.	Soph. fr. 583.10
c[κοπει		καὶ ταῦτ', ἐπ[ειδὸν εὐφρόνη ζεύξῃ μία,	
]ε		χρεῶν ἐπα[νεῖν καὶ δοκεῖν καλῶς ἔχειν.	
]		νόμῳ μὲν [
5] .ac	5	εἰ δ' ἐκ τοιου[
]ρος		ἴδοιμι καὶ[
]αι		τὸ γὰρ ποθ[
] .ατων	Χο(ρός)	ἀλλ' εὖ τελ[
]ερων		χρηστῆν φ[
10]a	10 Ποι(ήν)	δέσποινα[.] [
]		θέλων τι[
]	(Πρ.)	οὐκουν δ[
]		λόγων με[
]ν	(Ποι.)	ὄρκον γαρ[
15]c	15	φράσειν α[
]	(Πρ.)	λέξασα [
]ρους		κοινων[
] .νομος	(Ποι.)	εἶρπον μ[
]φης		ἀλλ' ἐξ ἄγρα[c	
20]	20	ὅς ἤμιν ερ[
		στείχων δ[
		ἔνθεν χοα[
		ἔστην ὑπο[
		] . . . αμν' ὑπ[
	25	] . . παρ[

Col. i

1] , ends of two obliques, κ or χ 2] , ends of two obliques, κ or χ 4] , perhaps e.g. upper and lower parts of the second upright of ν, with a left-pointing hook at the top and the oblique projecting slightly to the right on the line 5] , the upper part of an upright on the edge with thickening at the top, e.g. ι 8] , the end of an oblique descending from left to right with a horizontal tail on the line, clear above: λ or μ 13] , an upright with a stroke suggesting the end of a descending oblique projecting to the right at the foot, perhaps ν 18] , an upright hooked to the left at the top and to the right at the foot: η, ι, or ν 19] φ, above letter-top level the top of the upright and to the right at letter-top level the upper right-hand arc of a circle

Col. ii

1 . [left-hand arc and perhaps crossbar of ϵ or θ 2 . [left-hand side of γ or π 3 . [first oblique of α or λ with left-pointing decoration at foot 5 . [high trace, clear below: τ or ν 6 \circ , on either side of a hole, a trace at mid-line level and the upper right-hand arc of a circle 7 . [a circle complete except for the lower right-hand arc, with a possible trace of a crossbar; a trace on the edge high in the line 10 *mg.* [an upright on the edge] . [traces of one or two letters on a partly detached scrap 12 . [left-hand arc of a circle 14 . [upper left-hand arc of a circle 16 . [left-hand side of γ or π ; top of sharply descending oblique, α or λ 17 . [a heavy trace on the line; on a displaced strip, perhaps the upper arc of a circle 20 . [high and low specks, perhaps γ or χ 22 . [an upright on the edge 24] . . . , tops only: a high bar joined from below near the left by an upright and on the right by a blob, γ or τ rather than π ; the edge of the upper arc of a circle; the top of an upright or oblique 25] . . . , letter-tops: a crossbar; the top of an upright joined from the left; the top of an upright π . . . [letter-tops: a crossbar joined from below by an upright near the right; α or λ ; the upper arc of a small circle, perhaps ρ ; ϵ , θ , σ , or c

Col. ii

'(PROCNE) some to strange houses, some to abusive. And this, when one evening joins us together, we must approve and consider good ... custom ... But if out of such ... I see ...; for the ...

'CHORUS But well ... good ...

'SHEPHERD Mistress ... wishing ...

'PROCNE Then ... speeches ...

'SHEPHERD An oath ... to tell ...

'PROCNE Having said ... common ...

'SHEPHERD I was going ... but from hunting ... who ... to us ... going ... from which ... drink-offerings (?) ... I stood ... dwelling place (?) ...'

Col. i

2 ϵ] $\kappa\sigma\pi\epsilon\iota$: (-) ϵ] $\kappa\acute{\sigma}\pi\epsilon\iota$, (-) ϵ] $\kappa\sigma\pi\epsilon\iota$, (-) ϵ] $\kappa\acute{\sigma}\pi\epsilon\iota$.

18 νόμος, νομός, κύγνομος.

Col. ii

1 ἀήθη[η. In the quotation in Stobaeus, SMA offer the impossible ἀληθη, while B has ἀήθη, in agreement with 5292. The young wife may find her home uncongenial either because it is strange or because it is hostile: cf. Jebb, quoted in Pearson's note.

ἀήθη was doubted by Brunck (followed by Pearson, Radt, and others) on the grounds that it would apply in every case. But Eur. *Med.* 238 ἐς καινὰ δ' ἤθη καὶ νόμους ἀφιγμένην is a good parallel; although Pearson objects that the passage of Euripides is concerned with 'marriage generally from the woman's point of view', the reference to 'new customs' would have particular relevance in a case such as Medea's (cf. Mossman's n.). ἀήθης is found in Sophocles at *Trach.* 869 (also often emended).

4 νόμω: νομῶ seems unsuitable.

μέν [οὖν (PJF) would give the necessary connective.

5-6 'εἰ might go with ἴδοιμι, or the latter could be the verb in the apodosis to the protasis introduced by the former' (PJF). Cf. *Phil.* 1043 εἰ δ' ἴδοιμι'.

7 τὸ γὰρ ποθ[ε]: e.g. τὸ γὰρ ποθε[ῖν, τὸ γὰρ ποθο[ῖν (cf. perhaps *Trach.* 196), τὸ γὰρ ποθε[ῖνόν. Alternatively, τὸ γὰρ ποθ' εἴ[-, τὸ γὰρ ποθ' ὄ[-. PJF suggests that this could be a concluding gnome, comparing *El.* 1170 τοὺς γὰρ θανόντας οὐχ ὄρω λυπομένους.

4–7 'E.g. νόμιμ μὲν [οὖν με τῶδε πειθεσθαι πρέπει· | εἰ δ' ἐκ τοιούτων κυμάτων γαληνὰ νῦν | ἴδοιμι (cf. Eur. *Or.* 279), καὶ [τάδ' αἰνέσαιμ' ἂν ἐνδίκως· | τὸ γὰρ ποθ' οὔτως ἐχθρὸν εἰσαῦθις φίλον (cf. Soph. *Aj.* 679–80)' (WBH).

8 *mg.* Χορός). The chorus will have been female: cf. e.g. D. Fitzpatrick, *CQ* 51 (2001) 94–5; L. Coe, *TAPA* 143 (2013) 368 n. 45.

8 ἄλλ' εὖ τελ[. E.g. ἄλλ' εὖ τελ[εῖται (Eur. *Or.* 1670), τελ[εῖ (Aesch. *Sept.* 35), τελ[εῖσθω (Aesch. *Cho.* 310), τελ[ευτήκει (Aesch. *Supp.* 208). The last three are suggested by PJF, who compares also Soph. *Trach.* 229 ἄλλ' εὖ μὲν ἔγμεθ', εὖ δὲ προσφωνούμεθα, spoken by Lichas on his entrance. He notes that there seems to be a reference here to the character entering.

9 χρηστὴν φ[. PJF suggests that this may be part of a brief prayer for good news from the shepherd, e.g. χρηστὴν φ[άτω, φ[έροι, or φ[έρον.

8–9 'E.g. ἄλλ' εὖ τελ[εῖσθω· καίριον δὲ τόνδ' ὄρω | χρηστὴν φ[έροντα νῦν ἔως, γύναι, φάτω (cf. *OT* 631–2 καίριον δ' ὑμῖν ὄρω | τήνδ' ἐκ δόμων στείχουσαν Ἰοκάστην)' (WBH).

10 *mg.* Ποιμ(ήν). 'Messenger-speeches' are quite often delivered by herdsmen: cf. fr. 502 (*Ποιμένες*), Aesch. fr. 25e (*Γλαῦκος Πόντιος*), Eur. *IT* 236–339, *Bacch.* 660–774, [Eur.] *Rhes.* 264–341. Other extant versions of the myth do not include a shepherd.

10 δέσποινα. E.g. δέσποινα Πρ[όκη? Cf. δέσποινα Δηάνειρα (*Trach.* 49, 180). Or δέσποινα a-?

11 θέλων τι[. E.g. θέλων τι [λέξαι, θέλων τι[ν' ... λόγον, cf. *OT* 932–3 ἀλλὰ φράζ' ... χῶτι σημήναι θέλων (all PJF).

10–11 'E.g. δέσποινα Πρ[όκη, δεινὸν ἀλγεινὸν τέ σοι | θέλων τι [λέξαι πρὸς σέ δεῦρ' ἐλήλυθα, cf. Eur. *IT* 1409–10 κάγω μὲν εὐθὺς πρὸς σέ δεῦρ' ἀπεστάλην, | σοὶ τὰς ἐκεῖθεν σημανῶν, ἄναξ, τύχας' (WBH).

12 οὐκουν δ[. [Probably οὐκουν; οὐκοῦν is not excluded. Perhaps Procne is here asking a question to encourage the shepherd to reveal what he has to say: e.g. οὐκουν δο[κεῖς, δο[κεῖ σοι, δέ[δωκε, δέ[δωκας, δέ[δορκε, δέ[δορκας, δέ[δορκῶς. For οὐκουν δο[κεῖ(c) opening a question, PJF compares e.g. E. *Alc.* 60 and *IA* 528.

12–13 'E.g. οὐκοῦν δέ[χεσθαι χρῆ με τοῦτο καὶ κακῶν | λόγων με[τασχεῖν' σοὶ δὲ πιστεύειν πρέπει;' (WBH).

14 ὀρκον. PJF suggests that the shepherd here swears an oath to guarantee the truth of his report, comparing *El.* 47, where Orestes tells the paedagogus to add an oath to his speech.

γάρ, [· γάρ seems likely. DJM, however, considers that 'it is hard to imagine what question Procne is asking so early in the conversation that would be followed by a "yes, because ..." or "no, because ...", especially when this couplet seems to be saying he is about to tell her something under oath'. Perhaps then e.g. ὀρκον γ' ἀρωγόν, cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 486 ἀρωγὰ τῆς δίκης ὀρκώματα.

15 φράσειν α[. A future infinitive may belong to the oath, e.g. φράσειν ἄ [, ἄν, or ἄπαντα· φράσειν α[seems improbable.

14–15 'E.g. ὀρκον γάρ, ἐ[ἵπερ σοι δοκεῖ, δίδωμ' ἐκῶν | φράσειν ἀ[ληθῆ πάνθ' ὅς' ἂν νῦν σοι φράσω' (WBH).

16 λέξασα. [· E.g. λέξας ἄπαντα.

16–17 'E.g. λέξας ἀπα[λλάξει με τοῦ γε νῦν φόβου' (cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 1077 ζῆι, μὴ τρέσῃς, τοῦδ' ὡς ε' ἀπαλλάξω φόβου) | κοινὸν γὰρ ἄχθος ἐστὶ πᾶσι τὰ γνοεῖν (or some other suitable generalization: for κοινόν so used, cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1023–4 ἀνθρώποισι γὰρ | τοῖς πᾶσι κοινόν ἐστὶ τοῦ δ' αμαρτάνειν)' (WBH).

18ff. The opening of a 'messenger-speech'. PJF suggests that the shepherd will go on to report that he discovered the mutilated Philomela.

18 εἶρπον μ[· e.g. εἶρπον μ[έν.

19 ἐξ ἄγρα[*c.* Perhaps the shepherd encountered someone coming away from a hunt. Or ἄγρα[*υλ-?* ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι is traditional (*Il.* 18.162, Hes. *Th.* 26): could the adjective be applied also to their homes or haunts?

18–19 'E.g. εἶπρον μ[έν οὐχὶ ποιμνίων νομῶν ἄπο, | ἀλλ' ἐξ ἄγρα[*c.* Cf. perhaps the start of the "messenger-speech" in tragic style in Men. *Sic.* 176–83 ἐτύγγανον μὲν οὐ[| βαίνων, μὰ τὸν Δί', οὔτε τ[... | ἐξ] ἄσπεως δ' ἦκων. Then e.g. γέροντα δ' εἰσὼρῶ τινα would supply an antecedent for ὅς in the next line' (WBH).

20 ὅς apparently refers to the second person who is doubtfully implied or supplied in 19. If there is no second person, then consider ὅς ἡμῖν ἔργ[*a.*

ἡμῖν: 'me' or 'us shepherds'? For the accent on the enclitic, cf. e.g. Finglass on *El.* 17. In drama, the form with short *i* is probably confined to Sophocles: cf. Radt at fr. 730b.18.

εργ[. E.g. ἔργ[*ov, ἔργ[*a,* or another case. 'ἔργ[*a δεινὰ σημαίνει μαθῶν* is a possible pattern, cf. e.g. *Ant.* 1208' (WBH).*

21 κτείχων δ[*:* cf. e.g. *OT* 798 κτείχων δ' ἰκνούμαι τοῦδε τοὺς χάρους. Cf. 22, 23 nn.

22 ἐνθεν χοαί[*:* either χοαί[or χοαί[*c.* Perhaps the herdsman and the person whom he encounters arrive at a stream or fountain from which they draw water for libations (PJF). WBH prefers to suppose that the line forms part of a description of a source of water mentioned in the previous line: it is one from which water is (regularly) taken for libations. χοαί in the general sense of 'streams' is quoted from fr. 523.2, but sometimes emended there.

23 ἔστην. WBH suggests that this is the main verb of the sentence that begins at the start of 21. ἐς τήν is not excluded; for ἐς and εἰς in manuscripts of Sophocles, cf. Finglass, *Philol.* 153 (2009) 212–15. Then ὑπο[-, ὑπ' ο[-.

24 . . . αμν' ὕ[. Perhaps γέραμν', though the word is otherwise attested only for Euripides in early Greek: cf. Barrett on *Hipp.* 418 (the only non-lyric example in Euripides). If correctly read, the word would recall *Ov. Met.* 6.521 *stabula alta . . . silvis obscura vetustis*, of the hut in which Philomela was attacked and then imprisoned by Tereus. Perhaps the shepherd, acting on the information mentioned at 20, found the hut and the mutilated Philomela. But the imprisonment is not mentioned in the hypothesis 3013 and has been thought unlikely to have featured in the play: cf. e.g. N. C. Hourmouziades in J. H. Betts et al. (edd.), *Studies in Honour of T. B. L. Webster* i (1986) 134–5; L. Coe, *TAPA* 143 (2013) 357–8' (WBH).

S. SLATTERY

III. EXTANT CLASSICAL TEXTS

5293. MENANDER, *KITHARISTES* FR. I

36 4B.93/M(4-5)c

8.9 × 14 cm

Second/third century
Plate IX (top of back)

The front was first published by E. W. Handley as P. Turner 5, with a photograph (Pl. III). A fresh transcription is given below with brief notes. The back, formerly obscured by the mounting, is published here for the first time.

The papyrus, MP³ 1297.5, has been taken into account in the editions of F. H. Sandbach (OCT, ²1990, p. 344), W. G. Arnott (Loeb ii, 1997), and C. Austin (*Menander: Eleven Plays* (2013)). Textual proposals have been published by W. Luppe, *CR* 32 (1982) 81 and *APF* 38 (1992) 81, and H. J. Mette, *Lustrum* 25 (1983) 30. See also C. Pernigotti, 'P. Turner 5: testi e lettori di Menandro', *Eikasmos* 16 (2005) 135-44; A. Casanova, 'Citations de Ménandre dans les ouvrages de Plutarque: texte et interprétation', *Ploutarchos* NS 8 (2010/11) 51-66 at 56-8.

The hand, described in the ed. pr., looks amateurish, and the moralizing text, inaccurately copied, is complete on a single sheet. The ed. pr. suggests that the papyrus may have been intended 'for school use', and it may well be a copying exercise: cf. E. G. Turner, *The Papyrologist at Work* (1973) 18, on P. IFAO inv. 89 v. (MP³ 1303.2), which gives the opening of *Misoumenos*. For verse texts copied as prose, cf. LXXIX 5183, also perhaps a student's exercise, with bibliography.

A versified transcription is given below on the right, with half-brackets enclosing text restored from other sources; the verse numbers are those of Arnott and Austin.

ωμην εγω [το]υς πλουσι	ὤμην ἐγὼ τ'οὐς πλουσίους, ὦ Φανία,
ουc ω Φανια [οιc μη] το δα	τ'οῖc μὴ τὸ δαίνειζεσθαι πρόσεστιν, οὐδ' | στένειν
νειζεσθαι προσεστιν ου	τὰς νύκτας | οὐδὲ στρεφόμενους ἄνω | κάτω
στενειν τας νυκτας ου	οἴμοι' εἴ λέγειν, ἥδὺν | δὲ καὶ πρῶτον τ'ίνα
5 ουδε στρεφόμενους ανω	5 ὕπνον | καθεύδειν τ'ἀλλ' ἀ τῶν πτωχῶν τινα
κατω ομο[ε] λεγειν ηδυν	5a κακοπαθίαν | ταύτην ἴδιαν [ε]λογιζό[μ]ην.
δε και πραυν [τ]ινα υπνον	6/7 νυνὶ δὲ κ' αἴ τοῦτ' εἴ μακαρίους ὑμᾶ' εἰ δ' ὀρῶ
καθευδειν [αλ]λα των πτω	7/9 πονοῦντας ἡμῶν [ταῦτό]ν· ἐνδοξῶ β' εἴω
χων τινα κακοπαθιαν	10 τ' ἄρες τιν, ἀπόρω συγκ' αταγηράσκει' | βίω.
10 τασηδιαν [ε]λογιζο[μ]ην	οὐδεῖc [ἀλύπως γὰρ] | βεβίωκεν[—υ—
νυνει δε κ[α]ι του[ε] μακα	x—] κατέληπτ'
ριους υμα[ε ο]ρω ποιουν	
τας ημειν [ταυτο]ν εδο	
ξω β[ε]ω λυπ[η] παρεc]τιν α	
15 πορω συνκ[αταγηραcκει	
βιω ουδειc [αλυπως γαρ	
βεβιωκεν[
κατε . . ηπτ . [
ρων καταν[

Back, upwards, along the fibres:

20 ατρ
Μεγανδρου []

The principal sources for the fragment are Stob. 4.33.13 (1–7) and Plut. *Mor.* 466AB (1–5 (καθεύδειν), 8–10). Line 8 is also in Stob. 4.34.54 and D. L. 7.68, and is [Men.] *Sent.* 54 Pernigotti.

4 (3) The superfluous *ου* is not deleted. It may have stood in the exemplar in this position: cf. 10 (5a) n.

7 (4) *πραυν* is written for *πρῶτον*, perhaps through the influence of the preceding *ηδυν* (but cf. also Gignac, *Grammar* ii 144 n. 2), and *ωμην* [above the line is repeated for clarity, cf. 1 (ed. pr.).

9–10 (5a) *κακοπαθιαν | ταυτην ιδιαν [ε]λογιζο[μ]ην* is only present in the papyrus.

10 (5a) *τασηδιαν* corrected to *ταυτην ιδιαν*. Perhaps the scribe's eye skipped from the *τα* at the beginning of 10 to that at the beginning of 13, and he copied the first four letters of that line here before noticing his error; then, in order to avoid disrupting the lineation, he inserted the correct letters above the line before continuing. The corruption could hardly have occurred unless the lineation of the exemplar matched that of the present copy: it too will have been written as prose. For line-by-line copying, not the

usual practice in literary rolls, see Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 39–49.

11–16 (6–10) The papyrus appears to give a version of the fragment in which the five trimeters of the familiar text are reduced to three. The standard text, based on the quotations in Stobaeus and Plutarch, has the following:

νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς μακαρίους καλουμένους
 ὑμᾶς ὁρῶ πονοῦντας ἡμῖν ἐμφορῇ.
 ἄρ' ἐστὶ συγγενές τι λύπη καὶ βίος;
 τρυφερῶ βίῳ σύνεστω, ἐνδόξῳ βίῳ
 πάρεστω, ἀπόρῳ συγκαταγῆράσκει βίῳ.

11 (6) νυνεῖ: l. νυνί.

11–12 (6) μακαρίους. The ed. pr. (6–10 n., p. 29) suggests that καλουμένους dropped out after this word through homoeoteleuton, but it may well have been considered superfluous: cf. Plutarch's paraphrase, quoted in 13 (7) n.

12–13 (7) ποιου[ν]τας apparently corrected to πονοῦντας, as conjectured by Geel.

13 (7) ημειν: l. ἡμῖν.

My [ταυτο]ν fits the gap and gives sense (corresponding to ἐμφορῇ in the usual text) and metre; cf. Plutarch's paraphrase, καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους ὁρᾷ ταῦτά πάσχοντας τοῖς πένησιν. After it, this abbreviated version omits line 8 and the first half of line 9 of the usual text. The result is somewhat awkward: λύπη cannot now be understood as the subject of πάρεστω and συγκαταγῆράσκει. Cf. 14 (10) n.

13–14 (9) ἐδο[ξ]ω: l. ἐνδόξω. For nasals omitted before dentals, cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 116–17.

14 (10) I take λυπ[η] to be intrusive. The author of this abbreviated version of the text no doubt intended κακοπαθία to be understood as the subject from 9 (5a). This is not easy, and λύπη may have been added above the line in an earlier copy to clarify the sense: cf. the supralinear gloss at 7 (4). Then παρεσ[τ]η, as in the quotation, will fill the gap.

15 (10) συνκ[αταγῆρα]σκει: l. συγκ-.

16 (11) supplied by the ed. pr.

17 (11) The ed. pr. reads βεβιωκαν[, but ε seems likely before ν: the cap, left-hand side, and crossbar all appear to be present.

18 (12) κατε[λ]ηπτο[(Luppe) seems likeliest. The ed. pr. suggests articulating -κατ' (or -κά τ') εἰ δὴ πτω[χ], but the final curve seems too tall for ω. Perhaps e.g. οὐδεὶς [ἀλύπως γὰρ] βεβίωκεν, [ἀλλὰ πᾶς ταύτη] κατε[λ]ηπτ', 'but everyone has been seized by this' (sc. λύπη, or κακοπαθία: cf. 14 (10) n.).

19 (12/13) ρων καταν[. This was the last line on the front of the sheet: a margin about 0.5 cm deep separates it from the straight edge below. Mette, Arnott, and Austin place καταν[at the beginning of a verse (13), perhaps rightly. There is not room for five feet to its right, but the extract may have ended in mid-verse, or the scribe may have continued on the back: cf. 20–21 n. (Alternatively, one might consider supplying e.g. -ρων κατὰ νόμον as the last metron of the verse that began two lines above, but it is unlikely that the second metron, of which the beginning is preserved, extended as far as the end of line 18.)

20–21 The surface is rubbed and there may well be more letters lost on the left in both lines. Μενανδρου, perhaps the last word, would suit a title or description of the text on the front, but the recognizable sequence of letters in 20 is hard to account for. It is not inconceivable that a title or description was preceded on this side by the end of the extract copied on the front: cf. 19 (12/13) n. PJP suggests that 20 may have given the name of the student who made the copy, perhaps with his father's name in the genitive: cf. R. Criboire, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1996) 147–8, and for the name following the text, e.g. nos. 138, 246, and 250 in her catalogue.

W. B. HENRY

5294-8. THEOCRITUS

Additional fragments of two published rolls (5294-5) and fragments of three further copies (5296-8) are presented below. The collation text is Gow's larger edition (ed. 2, 1952); Gallavotti's third edition (1993) and that of Ahrens (1855) have also been consulted.

5294. THEOCRITUS, *IDYLL* 7.130-33 (ADDENDUM TO XXX 2064 + L 3548)

No inv. no.

Fr. 23A: 1.5 × 2.1 cm

Second century
Plate IX

Fr. 23A, giving parts of 7.130-33, belongs to the right of 2064 fr. 23 at the top of col. xvi and is glassed together with it but has not yet been published in the series. A revised transcription of the lines and brief notes on the new parts are presented below, together with the text of fr. 74, one of those deemed 'too tattered to transcribe in isolation' in the ed. pr. of 3548.

Fr. 23 + 23A

7.130 χω μ[εν α]πο[κλινας
ει]ρφ' [οδόν] αυτα[ρ
στραφθε]ντες χ[ω
133 cχ][]ίνο[ιο

Fr. 74

]ην [
]ε, σπρω. () [
M]ελαμπ[
]... [
. . .

Fr. 23 + 23A

132 στραφθε]ντες (with K), correctly, rather than στραφε]ντες (the majority reading), to judge by the spacing.

133 cχ][]ίνο[ιο. cχοίνοιο, given by K, P, and V, is generally preferred to the majority reading cχίνοιο, restored here by a *diorthotes*.

Fr. 74

A note on 3.43? If so, it belongs in col. xviii.

2]ε, σπρω. () [. Perhaps]εισπρω. () [.

C. MELIADÒ

5295. THEOCRITUS, IDYLL 18.27-33 (ADDENDUM TO L 3550)

A. 6B5/7(q)

4.5 x 4.3 cm

Second century
Plate VI

An additional piece of L 3550 fr. 2 col. ii, giving middle parts of seven lines. A revised transcription of the lines is printed below, with a supplement to the notes in the ed. pr. There are no new readings.

Top(?)

- 18.27 π[οτν]ι[α Ν]υξ α[τε]
 ω[δ]ε και α χρυ[σεια Ε]λανα διεφαι[νετ εν] αμι[ν]
 π[ειραι μ]εγαλαι [ατ ανεδρ]α[με κομ]ο[ς αρφ]υραι
 30 η κ[απωι] κυπαρ[ισσο[ς η] α[ρ]μα[τι Θε]ε[σ]α[λο]ς ιπ[πο]ς
 ω[δ]ε και α ροδοχ[ρω]σ [Ε]λανα [Λακ]εδαιμον[ι] κ[ο]μο[ς]
 ουτε τι[ς] εκ ταλα[ρω] πα[νι]δε[ται] εργα τοιαυτ[α]
 33 ουτ επι δα[ιδ]αλ[ε]ω πυκι[νω]τερον] ατρι[ον]
 κτλ.

27 α[τε]: so L 3552, \mathfrak{B}_3 (the Antinoë codex), and the other manuscripts. Gow adopts Kaibel's τό τε; cf. H. Bernsdorff, 'Parataktische Gleichnisse bei Theokrit', in M. A. Harder et al. (edd.), *Theocritus* (1996) 71-90 at 74 n. 10.

29 μ[εγαλαι] [ατ]: so 3552 (μεγαλαι [ατ]), with -αι for -α through false assimilation. \mathfrak{B}_3 has μεγάλα ατ', while the later manuscripts are divided between μεγάλα ατ' (Tr) and μεγάλη ατ' (ASU); μεγάλαι stands in the margin in D. C. Gallavotti, *BollClass* 5 (1984) 17, prefers to suppose that 3552 had μεγαλαι[ον], as conjectured by Eichstädt, whom Gallavotti follows; against this conjecture, see Gow's note.

ανεδρ]α[με rather than ανεδραμ]ε [, to judge by the space.

32] εκ with \mathfrak{B}_3 and Tr, rightly adopted by Gow: εν ASU.

E. NABNEY

5296. THEOCRITUS, *IDYLL* 22.176–200

101/137(d), (h)

Fr. 2: 3.4 × 20.9 cm

Third century
Plate VI

Two fragments give the foot of one column and the top of the next. The text is written across the fibres on the back of a tax register running in the same direction. The upper margin is about 4.1 cm deep, and the lower margin is preserved to a depth of 4.4 cm; the intercolumnium is preserved to a width of 1.9 cm at the foot of col. i. The line length was about 17 cm.

The hand is a medium-sized Severe Style with a slight rightward slope, assignable to the third century: cf. e.g. II 223 (*GLH* 21a), VII 1012 (pl. IV); L. Del Corso, *Aegyptus* 86 (2006) 81–106 at 101–2. There are acute (184, 194) and grave (196, 197) accents and a high stop (198). Elision is effected and marked with apostrophe (182, 192, 195). There is no evidence that more than one hand has contributed.

5296 does not overlap the other published papyri of this poem, but P. Köln V 212 has the beginnings of 179–90. None of the other ancient copies of Theocritus so far published was made on the back of a document.

There are five new readings, at 181, 186, 188, 192, and 194. That at 188 seems likely to be correct, and those at 181, 186, and 194 are possible. There is a new example of Doric *α* at 192 (*ερωα*), and Doric *αυθις* is used at 191 (cf. n.), but epic/Ionic *οι]κου* with the rest of the tradition at 177.

The separate edition of this poem by A. Sens (1997) is cited by the author's name.

Col. i (fr. 1)

22.176	πεν]θος οι]κου εταιρου]ς κου]ρας 180 αναι]ρειν
--------	--

Col. ii (fr. 2)

181	μετ]αμωλια [ωμω]ν τευχε' [μ]εσον ηλ[υθε ασπιδο]ς άντυ[γα 185 δ]ουρατο]ς επε]νευσαν [τιτυσκομε]νοι πονον [γυμνωθε]ν ιδοιντο
-----	---

190 δ]ηλησασθα[ι
 π]αγευστα
 φο]νον αυθις [
 γ]ινετ' ερωα
 ιππο]κομον τρυ[φαλειαν
] όμματα Λυ[γκευς
 195 λοφο]ν ικετ' ακω[κη
 ς]καίον γον[υ
 υπεξαν]αβὰς ποδ[ι
]· αυψα δε φ[ευγειν
 κ]αρτερος [
 200 εμφυλιο]γ αν[δρων

176 πεν]θος:]θo represented only by abraded low traces. No variants are attested.

181 μετ]αμωλια [: the other manuscripts have μεταμώνια. The two forms are constant variants in Homer (e.g. at *Il.* 4.363, Theocritus' 'immediate model' (Sens)) and there is the same variation at A. R. 1.491. As Sens says, 'both forms were very likely attested in 3rd-c. texts' (of *Il.* 4.363).

182 τευχε' [: Of the apostrophe, only the upper left-hand corner on the edge.

186 επε]νευσαν [: the other manuscripts have επένευον. The manuscripts are similarly divided in the passage that served as Theocritus' model (cf. Sens), *Il.* 22.314, where the majority gives επένευε (adopted by West), but C and G have επένευσε; once again (cf. 181), it is quite possible that both forms were found in third-century copies. H.-W. Nordheider in the *LfgGE* s.v. νεύω II.2 explains the imperfect in *Il.* 22.314 as 'durat. Begleitendlg. zum ingr. Aor. der Hauptaktion', but either tense is possible.

187 πονον with D, rightly printed by Gow (cf. Sens). TrM have πόθον.

188 ιδουτο: the other manuscripts have ιδοιεν. 'The clause echoes *Il.* 17.681 εἴ που Νέστορος υἱὸν ἔτι ζῶντα ἰδοίτο, where a b scholium (Didymus?) reports that some read ἰδουτο. The familiar ἰδοιεν is likely to be an intrusive gloss in this passage. ἰδουτο is otherwise only attested in sch. *Od.* 1.163 c2 Pontani, where it is used to explain the morphology of ἰδοίατο; sch. c1 on the same passage offers ἰδοιεν as a gloss' (WBH).

191 αυθις with TrM: Gow adopts the epic/Ionic αυθις from D. Cf. the introd., and on the dialect of the poem, cf. Sens 36–8, who argues that epic/Ionic forms are generally to be preferred.

There is a dot, no doubt casual, over α.

192 γ]ινετ' with TrM, printed by Gow: D has γίγνετ'.

ερωα: the other manuscripts give the epic/Ionic form ερωή. Cf. 191 n.

194 όμματα: the other copies have όμμασι. LSJ do not give any other examples of the dative used with ακριβής; for the accusative of respect, cf. Men. fr. 176.4 KA ακριβής τοὺς τρόπους. 'The dative may be a gloss, cf. e.g. sch. D *Il.* 1.58 πόδας ὠκύς· ὁ ταχύς τοῖς ποσὶ' (WBH).

196 ς]καίον. The grave is placed on the penultimate syllable as an advance warning to the reader: cf. in general J. Moore-Blunt, *QUCC* 29 (1978) 137–63.

5297. [THEOCRITUS], *IDYLL* 25.173-9

25 3B.61/C(f)

3.7 × 3.1 cm

First/second century
Frontispiece

A small fragment with text running along the fibres. No margins are preserved. The line length will have been about 13.5 cm. The back is blank.

The text is written in a formal bilinear decorated round hand similar to those of the Hawara Homer (*GMAW*² 13), assigned to the second century, and LXVIII 4639, assigned to the first/second century. Letters are about 3 mm tall. There are no preserved lection signs. Elision is effected at 178 and may have been marked.

LXIV 4431, the only other known ancient copy of this poem, preserves in fr. 7 the first letters of 173-5 but does not overlap 5297. There are no points of textual interest.

25.173	]	περ	[
	ελπομα]	ι ουχ	[
175	δερ]	μα δε	[
	κ]	αρτε[ρον	
	]	αγε νυν μο[ι	
	ηρ]	ως ειτ	ετυμ[ωσ
179	ε]	κεινος ο[ν	

178 *ειτ*. The crossbar of τ appears to turn upwards on the right: some of the ink may belong to an apostrophe touching its tip.

E. NABNEY

5298. THEOCRITUS, EPIGRAM 14

22 3B.20/G(1-2)c

3 × 1.9 cm

First century BC/first century AD
Plate III

Remains of all four lines. The text runs along the fibres; the back is blank.

The text is copied in a small, somewhat irregular, round hand. Bilinearity is breached by ρ, φ, and ψ. α is broad, with a triangular loop. η and π have curved right-hand sides. φ has a flattened loop, and its upright extends only slightly below the line. ξ is cursive in form. The top of υ is a shallow curve, joined by the upright in the middle. ε has a short low detached crossbar and a cap extended downwards to the level of the crossbar on the right. There is some resemblance to the hand of P. Louvre E 7733 v. (Cavallo-Maehler, *HB* 94), assigned to the Augustan period. No lection signs are preserved.

Papyrus evidence for the Theocritean epigrams is otherwise limited to the collection LIV 3726, which contains at fr. 1.25-6 the first two lines of [Theoc.] *Epig.* 27 Gow. See in general on the formation of the collection L. Rossi, *The Epigrams Ascribed to Theocritus* (2001) 361-75.

κα]ι ξειν[οικιν
 ανελ]ου ψηφου [
] τ[ι] [c] προφαζ[ιν
], [

2 ανελ]ου with the Theocritean manuscripts. The Palatine Anthology has the correct Ionic termination -λεῦ, printed by Gow.

4], [: a high trace on the edge.

E. NABNEY

5299. EUCLID, *ELEMENTS* I.4 (DIAGRAM), 8-II, 14-25 (WITHOUT PROOFS)

37 4B.106/F(1-2)b-c

(d) 13.8 × 16.9 cm

Third century
Plate II

Remains of two columns, written across the fibres on the back of the papyrus. On the front, running in the same direction, an account or register had been written: a series of line-ends are preserved, and to the right, further blocks of text and a large blank space. κριθῆς appears in the document twice, once followed by the artaba symbol. The papyrus is of poor quality: note for example the dislocated strip on the back over which the diagram for prop. 25 is drawn, near the lower right-hand corner of col. ii.

Col. ii of the Euclid text is 9.3 cm wide and its 25 lines occupy an area 13.6 cm high. It has to its left and to its right spaces about 3 cm wide used for diagrams. That on the right now extends to the right-hand edge of the papyrus, and it is unlikely ever to have been much wider, to judge by the placing of the numbers for the diagrams to propositions 23–25. The dimensions of the fragmentary col. i are discussed in the commentary: the full column width appears to have been approximately 17 cm, but the lines in the lower part are only half as long. The upper margin is preserved to a depth of 1.2 cm and the lower margin to a depth of 2.1 cm. There is damage at the upper and lower edges but it does not seem likely that either margin was significantly deeper.

The text is copied in an upright cursive hand that may be assigned to the third century: cf. e.g. LXXV 5058 of 257–8. The use of the apostrophe between two taus at i (c) 11 and ii 8 also points to a date in the third century or later: see Turner, *GMAW*² 11 with n. 50.¹ Diaeresis is written on initial *ι* and *υ*. There are several phonetic spellings, noted in the commentary. The end of an enunciation is marked by a paragraphus in the left-hand margin wherever it is possible to check (ii 2, 4, 25). There is further ink at the line-beginning at ii 2, perhaps also associated with the paragraphus. Where an enunciation ends in mid-line, the scribe usually fills the remainder of the line with a horizontal filler, occasionally doubled (cf. ii 4, 10); a line under the final letters in ii 13 has a similar function. At ii 21, a double oblique stroke follows the end of an enunciation and the scribe begins the last enunciation of the column immediately on the right, perhaps in order to ensure that the whole of the long enunciation of prop. 25 would fit in this column. The function of the lines drawn around the text in i (c) 3 is unclear: see the commentary.

Several features among those mentioned mark this copy out as a 'private' production (cf. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 157–60): the cursive hand; the phonetic spellings; the great width of col. i; and the fact that the columns are not of equal width, col. i being at the top apparently much wider than col. ii but at the foot somewhat narrower.

The papyrus gives a series of propositions without the proofs, accompanied by the corresponding diagrams. The text is sometimes shorter than that familiar from the later Greek manuscripts. In one place (ii 13), the papyrus does not have an explanatory note incorporated into the text in the later Greek manuscripts (but not present in Proclus or the Arabo-Latin tradition). In another, it is possible that a *saut du même au même* has occurred (i (a) 2). But in some places there is no obvious mechanical explanation. In one such, the shorter text is shared

¹ Turner refers in that note to BGU III 715.5 'Αγ'χοριμφικ', but the papyrus has no diacritical mark between the *γ* and the *χ*. The ed. pr. correctly shows instead a mark over the *α*; its function is unclear. As for P. Petaus 86.11 'αγ'γηων (the apostrophe in only one of three duplicate copies)', all three copies appear to have (or to have had) *ανγηων*, though in P. Mich. inv. 6871.9, where the editors read *αγ'γηων*, the first *ν* seems to have been made out of a *γ* by the addition of an upright at the right-hand end of the crossbar. S. Gathercole, *NT* 54 (2012) 229, refers to CPR XV 3.5 (which he calls 'P. Wess. Taf. gr. 6,7, line 5') of 11 for such an apostrophe in *ἄλλωι*, but see the editor's note. He also gives SPP XXII 2.22 *Ἀπὸ γ'χέως* as an example dated to 'ii CE', but the correct date is 207–8 (BL V 144).

with Boëthius (i (c) 7); in prop. 21 (ii 7-10), it is new. A minor omission at ii 11 is of less significance. It is possible that the shorter text in one or more of these cases is original, the fuller text being the result of a later revision intended to tighten up the expression and remedy deficiencies that had come to the reviser's notice; but at any rate in prop. 21, the shorter version seems too obviously defective to be authentic. In prop. 18 (ii 1-2), an enunciation that is scarcely distinguishable from the next when copied without the corresponding proof appears here in a clearly distinct form, and one may suppose that it was rewritten for the branch of the tradition that left out the proofs (cf. below), though again other explanations can be thought of. Of particular interest is the treatment of the *πόρισμα* of prop. 15 (i (c) 1-6), here attached to the enunciation, as it is in part of the Arabo-Latin tradition; but the form of the text has so far resisted elucidation. There is a further possible minor agreement with the Arabo-Latin tradition against the Greek at i (b) 3. The wording of the *πόρισμα* of prop. 15 matches that in Proclus, and a hitherto unique reading of his is supported at ii 23. There are other novelties deserving consideration at ii 7-10 and 18, and a new corruption at ii 14 (accusative for dative after *πρός*).

The diagrams are drawn freehand, generally in the right-hand margins, though in col. i, some are copied in the body of the column: see the commentary. They are (or may originally have been) numbered, the number usually being written to the right of the corresponding diagram. They are in general comparable to those in the later Greek manuscripts, except that the letters are not present in the enunciations and so omitted as superfluous. The scribe generally marks each angle mentioned in an enunciation or proof by drawing a short straight line close to the vertex joining the lines that meet there, so producing a small triangle. This system, not known from the later manuscripts, would be of particular assistance in a setting such as the present, where only the enunciations are included in the text, in reminding or suggesting to the reader what is to be done or how the proof is conducted; but it need not have originated there. Features familiar from the later tradition, such as 'overspecification' and metrical inaccuracy, are no less in evidence in the papyrus: see e.g. i (c) + (d) 1-6, ii 1-2 nn.

The papyrus overlaps P. Berol. 17469 r. (ed. W. Brashear, *APF* 40 (1994) 29-30), assigned to the second century, another copy giving only enunciations and diagrams (without labels) for each proposition. Propositions 1.9 and 10 are preserved there, together with part of the diagram for proposition 8. Each diagram is copied below the corresponding enunciation and numbered on the right; the left margin is missing, and it is not known whether the enunciations were also numbered. A third copy of this kind is I 29, assigned to the first/second century, containing 2.4-5; cf. D. Fowler, *The Mathematics of Plato's Academy* (2009) 211-13. There the diagrams (unlabelled) are copied in the body of the column at the end of each enunciation. 2.4 is poorly preserved, but at least in the case of 2.5 the diagram is numbered on the right and the enunciation on the left. A text limited to enunciations and diagrams would be considerably more economical and convenient than a version including the proofs, and this no doubt accounts for the circulation of the text in this short form in Roman Egypt. Boëthius' translation was later transmitted in a similar form (enunciations without proofs, and diagrams without labels): cf. M. Folkerts, „Boethius“ *Geometrie II* (1970) 69-82, 173-217; H. L. L. Busard, *Campanus of Novara and Euclid's Elements* (2005) 1-2. It may never have contained proofs except for the first

three propositions of Book I (Folkerts 81). Perhaps Boëthius translated a copy belonging to the same branch of the tradition as the papyrus copies that lack the proofs. One unique agreement with the present papyrus may suggest a connection of this kind: see above.

P. Herc. 1061 (Dem. Lac. *De geometria*), assigned to the second century BC, includes discussion of two of the propositions included in the present papyrus, 1.9 and 10, with diagrams: cf. the edition of A. Angeli and T. Dorandi, *CErc* 17 (1987) 91–9. In general on the Euclid papyri, see Dorandi in V. Gysembergh, A. Schwab (edd.), *Le travail du savoir* (2015) 3–30; Fowler (as above) 209–16.

The collation text is vol. i of J. L. Heiberg's edition as revised by E. S. Stamatis (1969–77), and the sigla are taken from this edition. For Boëthius' translation, Folkerts' edition is used (as above). The mediaeval Latin translation from the Greek (Gr.-Lat.) is cited from H. L. L. Busard, *The Mediaeval Latin Translation of Euclid's Elements Made Directly from the Greek* (1987). The Arabo-Latin tradition is represented by the Latin translations of Adelard of Bath (Ad. I), edited by Busard, *The First Latin Translation of Euclid's Elements Commonly Ascribed to Adelard of Bath* (1983), and Gerard of Cremona (GC), edited by Busard, *The Latin Translation of the Arabic Version of Euclid's Elements Commonly Ascribed to Gerard of Cremona* (1983). The edition of K. Saito, *SCIAMVS* 7 (2006) 94–144 (with corrections in *SCIAMVS* 9 (2008) 257) reproduces the diagrams for the propositions in Book I given in P, B, b, V, and two manuscripts of Gerard's translation, GB (Bruges 521) and GR (Vat. Rossiano 579); B, b, V, and F have also been consulted in the digital images published online. Modern studies have drawn attention to the value of the Arabo-Latin tradition, underestimated by Heiberg. See e.g. S. Brentjes, 'Euclid', in T. F. Glick et al. (edd.), *Medieval Science, Technology, and Medicine: An Encyclopedia* (2005) 164–7, for a brief introduction and bibliography; B. Vitrac, 'The Euclidean Ideal of Proof in *The Elements* and Philological Uncertainties of Heiberg's Edition of the Text', in K. Chemla (ed.), *The History of Mathematical Proof in Ancient Traditions* (2012) 69–134; and on the Latin versions, Busard, *Campanus* 1–40.

The approximate positions of the diagrams are indicated in the transcription by italic Roman numerals. Dr Henry has redrawn them using the software package DRaFT, published at <http://www.greekmath.org>. No attempt is made to reproduce the original width of each line or line-fragment. A dotted line represents the edge of the papyrus. For the sake of convenience, points in the diagrams are referred to using the labels that accompany them in the later manuscripts.

Col. ii was first edited by Dr A. Cairncross in his MA thesis, and this publication is based on his work. At a later stage, Dr Henry placed the remaining fragments and revised the whole to its present form.

Col. i

(a)

] []4
 πλε]ραϊς ιαας [εχη] εκατε]ραν]
 ι]ρων ευθειω]ν περιεχ[ομ]ε]νην] ε
]] τεμειν θ[]———ιο[]
 5 δ]ιχα τεμ[ειν] []
 δοθεντο]ς σημειο]ν]ΙΙ ια[]

(b)

]——[]
] σημειω
 εφεξ]ης δυ[ο
 ε]κοντα]ι

(c)

]ις []
]τι εαν δυο ευθε]ιαι] τεμνω]5[
 εν α]λληλας τας κατα [κορυ]φην γω
 νιας] ηκενηα των το]ν [τας] τε]σσ]αρας
 5 γωνι]ας τεσ[σα]ρσιν ο[ρθαις ιαας] ποι
 ουσιν]——[]——[]——[]——
 παντος] τριγωνου η [εκτος γωνια εκ]α
 τερας] []γ]6[
] . ν . []
 10 παντος] τριγω]νου αι] δυ[ο γωνιαι δυο ορ
 θων ελ]ατ'το]νες] εις]ι παντη μεταλαμ
]17 ιζ[]
 πανομε]νε []

Unplaced fragments

(e)

]λαις[.] . []
] . [.] . []

(f)

] []
] . τ . []
] . α . []
] . []

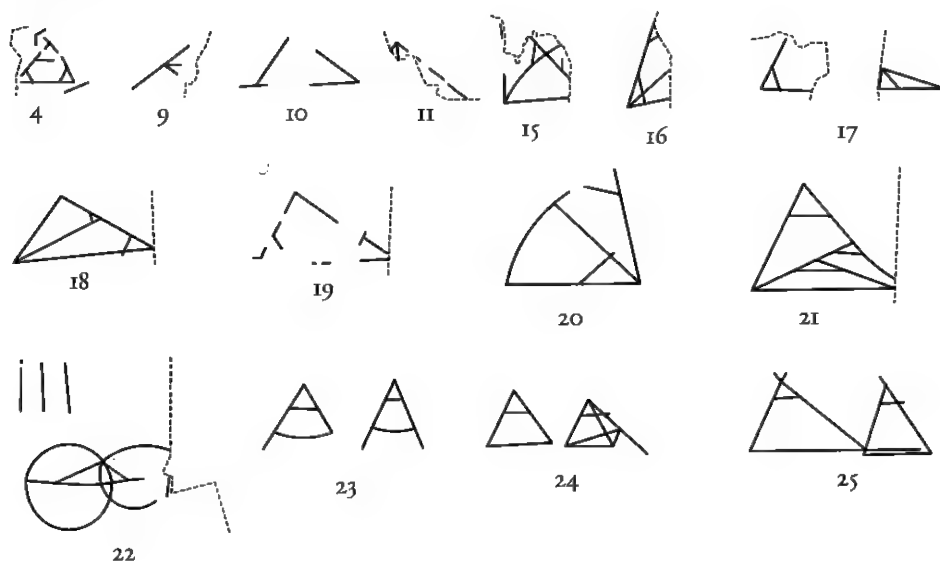
(g)

] . []
] . ν []

Col. ii

- παντος τριγωνου ὑπο την μειζωνα πλευραν
 ῥαν η μειζων γωνια εστιν ————— 18[
- παντος τριγωνου] ὑπο την μειζωνα γωνιαν η μειζων] πλευρα ὑποθεινι = 19[
- 5 π]αντος τριγωνου] δυο πλευραι της λυπης μειζονες εις παντη] μεταλαμπανομενε 20[
- εαν τριγωνου επι] μιας των πλευρων δυο ευθειαι εντος κυσταθω]ς [ιν] αι κυσταθειαι ελατ'τονες μεν εσονται του τριγωνου δυο πλε]υρ[ων] μειζονα δε την 21[
- 10 γωνιαν περιεξ]ουσι = —————
 εκ τριων ευθειων αι εις ισαι ταις δοθεισαις ευθειαις] τριγωνον κυστησασθαι διδητας δυο της λυπης] μειζονας ειναι παντη μεταλαμπανομενας 22[
- 15 μει]ω τη δοθειση γωνια ευθυγραμμω ισην γων]ιαν ευθυγραμμων κυστησασθαι ————— 23 κγ[
- εαν δυο τριγωνα τας δυο πλευρας ταις δυο πλευραις ισα]ς εχη εκατεραν εκατερα και την γωνιαν της γ]ωνιας μειζονα εχη την ὑπο των ισων 24 κδ[
- 20 ευθειων περιεχομενην και την βασιν της βασεως μειζονα εξει // εαν δυο τριγωνα τας δυο πλευρας ταις δυο πλευραις ισας εχη εκατεραν] εκατερα και την βασιν της βασεως μειζονα 25[
- 25 ε]χη και την γωνιαν της γωνιας μειζονα εξει την ὑπο των ισων ευθειων περιεχομενην κει[

Diagrams



Col. i

This column appears to have given the text of propositions 8-17. The arrangement is as follows:

(a) At the head of the column, six lines, the last five giving props. 8-10 and the start of prop. 11.

Perhaps four lines missing: one for the rest of prop. 11, two for prop. 12, and one for the first line of prop. 13.

(b) The line-filler of the second (final) line of prop. 13, and three lines giving prop. 14. Perhaps lines 11-14 of the column.

(c) The last 12 lines (i.e. lines 14-25 or 15-26) of the column. Lines 2-6 give prop. 15 in an unfamiliar form; line 1 is the first of prop. 15 or the last of prop. 14. Lines 7-9 give prop. 16, and lines 10-12 prop. 17.

Two curious points may be noted:

(1) In (a), the full column width seems to have been approximately 17 cm. But in (c), the line length is only about 8-8.5 cm.

(2) The preserved part of (a) includes together with the text of props. 8-11 parts of the diagrams for props. 9-11. But (a), to its right, gives at the level of the top of the column part of the diagram for prop. 4 and below it a cursive ϵ which no doubt had to its left the diagram for prop. 5. Yet the diagrams for props. 15-17 preserved lower down in this intercolumnar space stand at the levels of the corresponding texts.

To account for these two points, it is necessary to consider the contents of the preceding column (hereafter col. A). If the whole of col. A had lines approximately as long as those at the top of col. i, the text of props. 1-7 will not have occupied a whole column, but only about 13 lines. Prop. 1 will then have begun 12 lines up, at approximately the level of (c) 1, with the material preceding the propositions at the start of Book 1 taking up the top of col. A and any earlier columns. To judge by the corresponding part of col. i, (c), there will have been room for only three diagrams placed one above the other in the space

to the right of the 12 lines at the foot of col. A. If the scribe had decided to arrange the diagrams in this way, he may have continued the sequence at the top of col. i, starting with the diagram for prop. 4. But it is inconvenient and confusing to have the text of a proposition so far from its diagram. By squeezing the diagrams for props. 9–11 and apparently also props. 12–14 (see below) into the body of the column, he was able to ensure that the diagrams in the intercolumnium and the text corresponding to them could stand alongside each other in the lower part of the column and in the next column.

The same hypothesis will account for the change in line length in col. i at the level of (c). If col. A had no diagrams to its right above this level, the space above the diagrams for props. 1–3 will have been blank when the scribe came to the foot of that column. In the interest of economy, he may have begun col. i on the same alignment as those three diagrams or only a little further to the right; but on reaching the level of the diagram for prop. 1, he will have been obliged to change the alignment and begin instead to the right of the diagrams. The lines of (c) are thus considerably indented in relation to those above.

It is suggested above that the diagrams for props. 12–14, like those for props. 9–11, were copied in the body of the column. The suggestion is supported by observations concerning the line-length. The four proposition-beginnings in (a) enable us to establish the alignment of the left-hand edge of the column. There is less evidence for the alignment of the right-hand edge, but line 3 (the last of prop. 8) was about 16 cm long, and line 2 may have been 17 cm long: see below on the textual problem. Props. 9 and 10 are both under a line in length, and the scribe has used the space available in the body of the column on the right for the corresponding diagrams. He appears to have continued using the right-hand side of the column for diagrams in the following lines. Prop. 11, beginning in line 6, is long enough to occupy two lines, but the text of line 6 does not extend to the right-hand edge of the column. Rather, we find at the end of the line part of the corresponding diagram, while the text itself only occupies the left-hand side of the column, extending approximately 12 cm to the right of the left-hand edge. A similar line-length is found in (b) in prop. 14. The textual constitution is uncertain at the end, but the text of the first line of the proposition at least, (b) 2, appears to have been about 12.5 cm long, while the second line, (b) 3, may have been about 1 cm shorter. Here too the space not taken up by text was no doubt given over to a diagram in the right-hand part of the column.

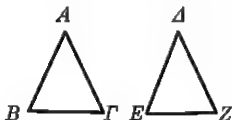
(a) + (d)

For the combination, see above, point (2), with discussion.

(d)

The diagram at the top of the column is evidently that for prop. 4: the ϵ below it marks the diagram below, of which little remains, as that for prop. 5, and the diagram itself is a good match for the known diagrams for prop. 4.

Here is the diagram given in b:



The papyrus will have had something similar. The single preserved triangle will be ΔEZ , and the triangle $AB\Gamma$ will have been drawn to its left. The expected diagram for prop. 5 is only about half as wide, and so hardly any of it is visible on the preserved fragment under the right-hand half of the diagram for prop. 4.

The version in the papyrus has additional lines marking the three angles of the triangle ΔEZ :

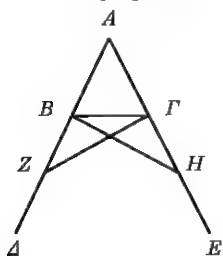
all three are mentioned in the proposition. The angle $E\Delta Z$ is given the greatest prominence: the line marking it, parallel to the base EZ , is almost half as long as EZ , while those marking the angles ΔEZ and ΔZE are much shorter, and approximately equal in length. The distinction may reflect the different roles of the angles in the proposition: the angle $E\Delta Z$ is known, while Euclid is concerned to establish that the angles ΔEZ and ΔZE are equal to $AB\Gamma$ and ATB respectively.

There are additional traces next to the triangle at Δ and Z . Their function, if any, is unclear. There may have been a further trace also at E in the lacuna to the left, and similar marks may have been added to the lost triangle $AB\Gamma$.

The expected number, δ , is not preserved. It may have been placed between the two triangles or omitted.

Of the other versions of the diagram used by Saito, those in P, GB, and GR are close to that in b. V has the two triangles one above the other rather than side-by-side. B has a short arc joining E and Z under the base of the triangle.

For proposition 5, we expect a diagram like this (from V):



The two traces visible on the edge of the papyrus to the left of the label may correspond, for example, to E and, 0.5 cm above, the end of a roughly drawn BH extended beyond H to the right, but there are no doubt other possibilities.

(a)

2-6 Props. 8-II. The following textual reconstruction seems suitable:

εαν δυο τριγωνα τας δυο πλευρας ταις δυο πλευραις ισας [εχη] εκατε[ραν] εκατερα και
την γωνιαν τη γωνια ισην εξει την υπο των ιζων ευθειω[v] περιεχ[ομ]ε[v]νην
την δοθεισαν γωνιαν ευθυγραμμων διχα] τεμειν []
την δοθεισαν ευθειαν πεπερασμενην δι]εχα τεμ[ει]ν
τη δοθειση ευθεια απο του προς αυτη δοθεντο]ς σημειο[v]

For details, see the notes below.

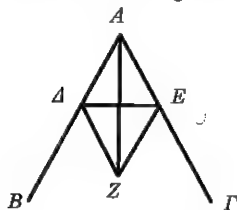
2 ταις δυοι, as supplied above (with V) to fill the space, would match ii 17 and 22. Heiberg-Stamatis print here [ταῖς] δύο.

At the end of the line, *και* alone has been supplied, on the assumption that *εκατερων εκατερα* was followed in the exemplar by *και την βασιω τη βασει ισην και την γωνιαν τη γωνια ισην* and that the scribe's eye skipped from the first *και την* to the second. The manuscripts of the direct tradition, followed by Heiberg-Stamatis, have *εχη δε* before the first *και την*, but it is superfluous, and omitted by Proclus. The corruption could also be accounted for if the exemplar gave the unattested reading *και την βασιω τη βασει ισην εχη και την γωνιαν κτλ.* For the form of the phrase (beginning with *και την*), cf. ii 18-20, 23-4. The papyrus may in theory have had the text in full as printed by Heiberg-Stamatis, but line 2 would in that case have been about 6.5 cm longer, and if so much more space was available on the right, the scribe had

no reason to place the diagrams so close to each other and to the text in the rest of (a).

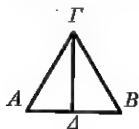
4] $\tau\epsilon\mu\epsilon\psi$. Of ν , only a faint trace possibly representing the oblique, immediately to the left of the diagram.

The first diagram (for prop. 9) was no doubt close to that in V:



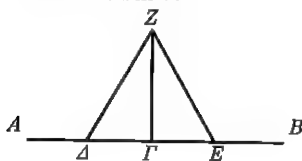
The diagram in P. Herc. 1061 (col. xi) is similar, but the angles BAZ and $ΓAZ$ are labelled (H and Θ respectively). P. Berol. 17469 r. also has a similar diagram, preserved almost complete, without labels. Of the manuscripts used by Saito, only B has $BZΓ$ joined (superfluously) with a straight line. There is no ink to the right of B in the present papyrus.

The second diagram (for prop. 10) is also poorly preserved, but it was probably similar in form to that found in the later manuscripts. Here is the version in V:



The lower part of the diagram is lost in P. Berol. 17469 r., but it no doubt also had the same form (without labels). In P. Herc. 1061 (col. xiii), the perpendicular is extended below the line to be bisected, but we can be confident that it was not so lengthened in our papyrus: the perpendicular is lost, but the line AB stands at what we should expect to be the level of the base of the diagram; cf. the diagram for prop. 9 to the left. As in the diagram for prop. 9, P. Herc. 1061 included labels, in this case M , N , and Ξ for Euclid's A , B , and Γ , and O and Π for the angles $A\Gamma A$ and $B\Gamma A$.

6 The diagram (for prop. 11) was no doubt close to that known from the later manuscripts. Here is the version in V:



(b)

2-4 Prop. 14. The following reconstruction seems suitable:

εαν προς τινι ευθεια και τω προς αυτη] σημει[ιω δυο ευθειαι μη
επι τα αυτα μερη κειμεναι τας εφεξ[ης δυ[ο γωνιας δυκιν
ορθαις γωνιαις ισας ποιωσιν επ ευθειαις ε]κοντα[ι αλληλαις αι ευθειαι

δυ[ο (3) is not present in the other Greek sources, but there is possible evidence for it in the Arabo-Latin tradition: Ad. I has 'duoque anguli ex duabus partibus linee existentes duobus rectis equales fuerint', and GC 'et fiant duo anguli ab utraque parte duobus rectis equales'. $\gamma\omega\nu\iota\alpha\iota\varsigma$ has been inserted *exempli gratia*

after *ορθαι* (4) because the supplement seems probably too short without it, but this may not be the correct solution.

One may wonder whether (b) 4 and (c) 1 are the same line, with]*ις* in (c) 1 the end of *ἀλλήλαις*. But the traces that follow, while they do not seem to exclude this placing, are not sufficient to confirm it.

Alternatively, one might try to place (e) 1 here: see below.

(c) + (d)

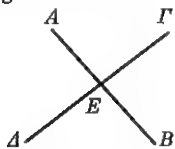
1-6 Of these lines, 2-6 at least belong to Prop. 15, while 1 is largely illegible and may belong to Prop. 14: see above on (b) 2-4.

In line 3, straight lines are drawn above and below *κατα*, joined on the left and extending to the edge of the fragment; similarly, lines are drawn above and below]*γω* at the end, joined at the right and extending to the left-hand edge of the fragment. There are no such lines in evidence in the fragment placed between these two that gives]*φη*]. The function of these lines is unknown.

Heiberg-Stamatis give the enunciation in the following form: *ἐὰν δύο ἐπ'θεῖαι τέμνωσιν ἀλλήλας, τὰς κατὰ κορυφὴν γωνίας ἴσας ἀλλήλαις ποιοῦσιν*. The papyrus has the same text from *ἐὰν* to *γωνίας*, but it has additional text before *ἐὰν* and different text after *γωνίας*. It is quite unclear what preceded *ἐὰν* at the beginning: perhaps the last word was *ὄτι*. As for the end of the enunciation, *τας] τε[cc]αρας | [γωνι]ας τε[cc]αρσιν ο[ρθαις ισας] ποι[ι]ουσιν* is restored from the *πόρισμα* (corollary) as given by Proclus in his commentary (301.18-20 F.), except that Proclus has *τεττ-* rather than *τεcc-* in both places. *τεcc-* is normal in papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods (Gignac, *Grammar* i 146). Heiberg and Stamatis give the *πόρισμα* in square brackets at the end of the proposition (i 24.10-13); for its attestation and other forms given in Greek sources, see their edition. Nothing can be made of the text between *γω]*[*γιας*] and *τας] τε[cc]αρας* in the middle of line 4, and it is not clear how the omission of *ἴσας ἀλλήλαις ποιοῦσιν* at the end of the familiar form of the enunciation is to be explained. It is just conceivable that *ἴσας ποιοῦσιν* is somehow to be understood from the end of the *πόρισμα*, but there the dative *τε[cc]αρσιν ο[ρθαις]* is added, while *ἀλλήλαις* would need to be understood in the earlier passage.

GC also has the *πόρισμα* at the end of the enunciation, but he adds it as a second sentence: 'omnium duarum linearum sese secantium quilibet angulus angulo sibi opposito est equalis. anguli quoque quattuor, qui ab eis fiunt, quattuor rectis angulis sunt equales'. Cf. H. L. Busard, *Campanus of Novara and Euclid's Elements* (2005) 533.

The diagram given in the later manuscripts has a somewhat different form. Here is the version given in V:



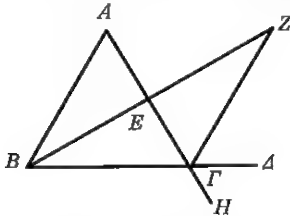
In the papyrus, the angles of one of the two pairs considered in the proposition (those corresponding to *ΓEB* and *ΔEA* in the diagram in V) are marked. But the scribe has also joined *ΔB* and *ΑΔ*, and the two lines meet at a right angle at the lower left-hand corner. (No doubt *ΑΓ* and *ΓB* were similarly joined.) There is no justification for these additional lines. They give the misleading impression that the proposition is concerned with the diagonals of a square and not quite generally with any pair of intersecting straight lines. For 'overspecification' as a feature of the manuscript diagrams, cf. K. Saito and N. Sidoli, in K. Chemla (ed.), *The History of Mathematical Proof in Ancient Traditions* (2012) 140-43.

7-9 Prop. 16.

7 Between παντος] τριγωνου and η [εκτος γωνια, the other Greek sources have μιᾶς τῶν πλευρῶν (μιᾶς πλευρᾶς Procl.) προσεκβληθείσης. Boëthius, however, shows no knowledge of the phrase, translating 'omnium triangulorum exterior angulus utrisque interioribus et ex aduerso angulis constitutis maior existit' (195.169-70 E).

8-9 It is not clear what followed εκ]α[τερας. Heiberg-Stamatis print τῶν ἐντὸς καὶ ἀπεναντίον γωνιῶν μείζων ἐστίν. This seems to suit the traces and spaces: των εντ]ος κα[ι απεναντιον γωνιω]ν | μειζ]ων ε[στιν. ν in line 9 is now reduced to a trace suiting the first upright, but the archive photograph shows further traces suiting the oblique and the lower part of the second upright. γωνιῶν is omitted by Proclus, BFbp, and Gr.-Lat., and is a later addition in V, but P, Boëth., Ad. I, and GC have it.

The diagram is close to that found in the other Greek manuscripts. Here is the version in V (after correction: cf. K. Saito, *SCIAMVS* 9 (2008) 257):



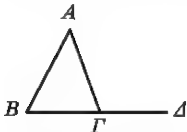
The angles GBA and BAG are marked in the papyrus, and the others mentioned in the proposition were no doubt also marked.

10-12 Prop. 17.

11 ε]λατ'το[νε]. Heiberg-Stamatis have -cc- here and record no variants, but the spelling is inconsistent in the remainder of the proposition: see their apparatus. For the spelling with -τ'τ-, cf. ii 8. The second τ is now damaged but it is shown complete in the archive photograph.

11-12 μεταλαμ][πανομε]νε restored from ii 6 (where see n.): 1. μεταλαμβανόμεναι.

Of the Greek manuscripts used by Saito, PbV appear to have had a similar diagram to that in the papyrus. (In B, the angle AFB is obtuse.) Here is the version in V:



The preserved angles $ABΓ$, $AΓB$, and $AΓΔ$ are mentioned in the proposition and marked accordingly in the papyrus.

(e)

This fragment was attached to the top left-hand corner of what is now (e) before the archive photograph was taken: perhaps it had broken off at some stage in the cataloguing process. It was joined at the level of (c) 1-2, with its right-hand side covering the first trace of (c) 2. It is tempting to place (e) 1]λαις[in (b) 4, giving αλλη]λαις, but what follows does not seem to suit [α]ε[υθειαι: the penultimate trace is an upright, and [α]ε could be accepted, but the final trace does not seem likely to represent ε. It may be e.g. the left-hand side of υ.

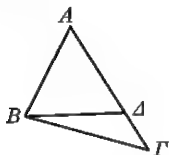
Col. ii

1-2 Prop. 18. Heiberg-Stamatis give the enunciation in the following form: *παντὸς τριγώνου ἢ μείζων πλευρὰ τὴν μείζονα γωνίαν ὑποτείνει*. The form given in the papyrus is more clearly distinct from the next enunciation. As Heath notes in his commentary, the enunciation of prop. 18 in its usual form is identical to that of prop. 19 except that *ὑπό* precedes the accusative, as expected with this verb, in the latter, and that the word order is different, with the *datum* preceding the *quaesitum* in each case. The proofs immediately clarify what is meant, but where the enunciations alone are given, as in this copy, it may have seemed desirable to make them more clearly distinct. In the papyrus text, the *quaesitum* in each case comes second and stands in the nominative case, while the *datum* comes first and is in the accusative following *ὑπό*. Confusion is thus averted.

1 μείζονα: l. μείζονα. Cf. 3, and for the interchange of ω and o , cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 275-8.

1-2 πλευραν | ράν. The scribe repeated the final syllable of *πλευραν* at the start of line 2; perhaps he realized before beginning the line that line 1 projected too far to the right. The diagram is drawn over the final ν of line 1. But no serious attempt appears to have been made to cancel the first *ραν*. Indeed the dots over the first two letters of line 2, if significant, would indicate that they were cancelled instead, though there is no sign that such a dot was written over the ν , and a further dot to the left of the column at the same level cannot have this function.

The diagram differs somewhat from the form given by the later Greek tradition. Here is the version in V:



In the papyrus diagram, the angles $A\Delta B$ and $A\Gamma B$, both mentioned in the proposition, are marked; the surface on the left is now damaged, but the angle $AB\Gamma$ was no doubt similarly marked for the same reason. $A\Delta$ and AB are correctly shown in V as equal, but in the papyrus, $A\Delta$ is much shorter than AB . Perhaps the scribe began by drawing the triangle $AB\Gamma$ and placed Δ at approximately the mid-point of $A\Gamma$ for the sake of clarity; in his original triangle, AB is only very slightly shorter than $A\Gamma$, and if Δ were placed correctly, the short line drawn to mark the angle $A\Gamma B$ would touch $A\Gamma$ at Δ . For 'indifference to visual accuracy' as a feature of the manuscript diagrams, cf. Saito and Sidoli (i (c) + (d) 1-6 n.) 143-8.

3-4 Prop. 19.

3 μείζονα: l. μείζονα. Cf. 1 n.

The final trace is an upright. Perhaps the scribe began to write ν before changing his mind and continuing the word at the beginning of the next line. A separate trace above the upright may be intended as a cancel dot. The surface is damaged on the right, and it is conceivable that more of the letter was written.

4 ὑποθεινι: l. ὑποτείνει. Cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 87 (θ for τ), 189-91 (confusion of ϵi and i).

The diagram is badly damaged, but it is possible to make out the triangle and the additional lines marking the greater and lesser angles at the lower left- and right-hand corners. The triangle is nearly identical to that drawn for the previous proposition, and indeed the two propositions are closely related: cf. 1-2 n. As in the case of the previous proposition, the triangle drawn here does not exactly match any of the various triangles shown in the later Greek tradition.

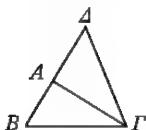
5-6 Prop. 20.

5 λοιπης: l. λοιπης. For the interchange of oi and v , cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 197-9.

6 μεταλαμβανόμεναι: l. μεταλαμβάνομεναι. Cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 83 (-λαμπ- for -λαμβ-), 192-3

(-ε for -αι); similar spellings at 13, i (d) 11-12.

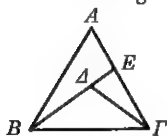
Of the diagrams edited by Saito, that in the papyrus resembles most closely those in P and B. Here is that of B:



Our scribe has, as expected, marked the angles $B\Gamma A$ and $B A \Gamma$ that are mentioned in the proposition. Again, as in prop. 18 (1-2 n.), he has not shown equal lines as equal: in this case, AD is much shorter than AF . (It is also noticeably shorter, though not by as much, in B.)

7-10 Prop. 21. Heiberg-Stamatis print $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ τριγώνου ἐπὶ μιᾷ τῶν πλευρῶν ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων δύο εὐθεῖαι ἐντὸς κυσταθῶσιν, αἱ κυσταθεῖσαι τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ τριγώνου δύο πλευρῶν ἐλάττονες μὲν ἔσονται, μείζονα δὲ γωνίαν περιέξουσιν. The papyrus (a) omits the essential specification ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων, (b) omits (as it seems) τῶν λοιπῶν from τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ τριγώνου δύο πλευρῶν, (c) places the phrase so shortened after, rather than before, ἐλάττονες μὲν ἔσονται, and (d) inserts τήν before γωνίαν. All four variants are new. The last, (d), does not appear to alter the sense significantly, and the difference in word order (c) is not particularly surprising in a text of this kind: Proclus has a similar variant in the earlier part of the enunciation, where for ἀπὸ—κυσταθῶσιν he gives δύο εὐθεῖαι κυσταθῶσιν ἐντὸς ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων ἀρξάμεναι. The two omissions (a) and (b) may be inadvertent or due to deliberate abbreviation. The latter is perhaps likelier in this case. Cf. i (a) 2, (c) + (d) 7 nn.

The diagram is similar to those in the later Greek manuscripts. Here is the version in b:



As expected, the papyrus marks the three angles mentioned in the proof, $B A \Gamma$, $\Gamma E A$, and $B A \Gamma$.

11-13 Prop. 22.

11 Before ταῖς δοθεῖσαις, the other sources have *τριεί*. It is not essential to the sense.

11-12 $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota\varsigma$ is bracketed by Heiberg-Stamatis. It is omitted by b and Eutocius and a later addition in P, p, and V.

12 δ: I. δέ. Cf. 4 n.

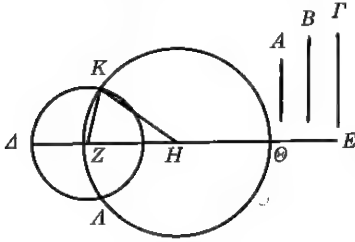
δη, as given by the other manuscripts and Eutocius, is the correct reading; Proclus alone has the corruption δέ. See Heiberg's note at 11.23 (iv 63 n. 1), in which he observes that he was wrong to print δέ here.

12-13 λυ[πης: I. λοιπῆς. Cf. 5 n.

13 μεταλαμβανομενας: I. μεταλαμβανομένας. Cf. 6 n.

Following this word, the other Greek manuscripts add an explanation taken from prop. 20, $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ τὸ καὶ παντὸς τριγώνου τὰς δύο πλευρὰς τῆς λοιπῆς μείζονας εἶναι πάντῃ μεταλαμβανομένας; Eutocius (in Heiberg's edition of Apoll. Perg., ii 178.13-15) has a similar explanation, introduced by ἐπειδὴ δέδεικται ὅτι. Heiberg-Stamatis bracket this addition. It is not given by Proclus or by Ad. I or GC, but Gr.-Lat. has it, as expected; it is also translated in 'Boëthius' II 165-6 (p. 123 F).

The diagram is of some interest. Here is the version in V:



The sides of the triangle ZKH as shown here match the three lines given, A , B , and F , and the result is an irregular acute triangle. Saito and Sidoli (i (c) + (d) 1-6 n.) 155-6 argue that the older form of the diagram is that given by P, in which the triangle ZKH is isosceles and the given lines, A , B , and F , are equal, and that the form given by V, which avoids the metrical inaccuracy and overspecification of P's form (cf. i (c) + (d) 1-6, ii 1-2 nn.), is a later correction. The papyrus lends some support to this hypothesis. It shows the three given lines as equal, and the sides of the constructed triangle are not equal to the three given lines. The constructed triangle, however, is not an isosceles triangle but an irregular acute triangle. It is possible that the exemplar had an isosceles triangle and that the scribe, drawing freehand, has merely failed to produce an accurate copy, but this seems unlikely. But of course P's form may already have existed alongside that of the papyrus.

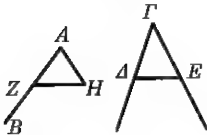
The papyrus appears to be alone in placing the three given lines above the left-hand side of the construction. In all the other versions edited by Saito, they are on the right. The scribe may have moved them because there was not sufficient space on the right in the narrow intercolumnium.

There is some surplus (greyer) ink in the lower half of the diagram: the scribe may have made more than one attempt to draw it.

14-16 Prop. 23.

14 $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\nu$ written in error for $\alpha\delta\tau\eta\eta$.

The diagram is similar to that in F:



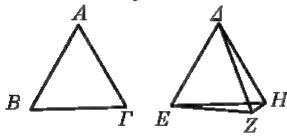
The two equal angles ΔFE and ZAH (marked, as expected, in the papyrus) are shown as unequal, and the triangles are isosceles: for such inaccuracy and overspecification, cf. i (c) + (d) 1-6, ii 1-2 nn. P and b show equilateral triangles, while the triangles in B and V are scalene.

17-21 Prop. 24.

17 $\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$ $\delta\upsilon\epsilon\iota$ is the majority reading. Heiberg-Stamatis bracket $\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$ (omitted by Proclus, who also omits $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ before), and give $\delta\upsilon\omicron$ for $\delta\upsilon\epsilon\iota$, with P and Proclus. Cf. 22 n.

18 $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\eta\nu$ $\gamma\omega\nu\iota\alpha\nu$: the other manuscripts have $\tau\eta\nu$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\gamma\omega\nu\iota\alpha\nu$, printed by Heiberg-Stamatis. (Proclus has the words in a different order: $\xi\chi\eta$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\tau\eta\nu$ $\gamma\omega\nu\iota\alpha\nu$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\gamma\omega\nu\iota\alpha\varsigma$ $\mu\epsilon\iota\zeta\omicron\nu\alpha$.) Cf. 23 n.

The diagram is close to that given in the later Greek manuscripts. Here is the version in b:



The extension of ΔH past H in the papyrus has no significance but is unobjectionable. The scribe has marked the main angles $B\hat{A}\Gamma$ and $E\hat{\Delta}H$, but he seems to have decided against marking the further angles mentioned in the proof, ΔHZ , ΔZH , EHZ , and EZH : perhaps he was concerned that if he were to draw further thick lines signifying angles in this area, it would be difficult to make out the main lines of the diagram.

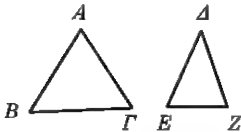
21-5 Prop. 25.

22 $\tau\alpha\iota\epsilon$ $\delta\upsilon\epsilon\iota$ with V. Heiberg-Stamatis give $\delta\upsilon\epsilon\iota$ with the rest of the direct tradition; Proclus has $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron$ (and also has no article before the previous $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron$). Cf. 17 n.

23 $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\eta\nu$ $\beta\alpha\epsilon\omega$ with Proclus. V has $\tau\eta\nu$ $\beta\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\omega$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ and the rest of the direct tradition $\tau\eta\nu$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\beta\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\omega$, printed by Heiberg-Stamatis. Cf. 18 n.

24 $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\iota$: l. $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\xi}\epsilon\iota$. Cf. 4 n.

The diagram is not unlike some of those known from the later Greek manuscripts. Here is the form in b:



P, b, V, and F all give the bases of the two triangles as horizontal lines at the same level, and show the triangle $AB\Gamma$ on the left, as in the papyrus; only B shows the triangle $AB\Gamma$ on the right and $B\Gamma$ as an oblique ascending from left to right. V and F wrongly draw two equal triangles; the papyrus and the other later manuscripts correctly show $B\Gamma$ longer than EZ but do not have the two sides AB and $A\Gamma$ equal to the two sides ΔE and ΔZ respectively. As expected, the papyrus marks the two angles mentioned in the proposition, $B\hat{A}\Gamma$ and $E\hat{\Delta}Z$.

A. CAIRNCROSS / W. B. HENRY

5300. POLYBIUS 5.67.9-10

2 1B.104/H(b)

2.6 × 6.6 cm

First century
Frontispiece

A fragment with remains of ten lines running along the fibres, broken on all sides. The column was about 8 cm wide. A repair patch stuck to the back, now removed, has part of *Iliad* 13 running along the fibres; the fibres of the facing inner layers ran at right angles to each other. The backs of both papyri are blank.

The text is copied in a decorated formal round hand. The letters are approximately 4 mm

tall, with the exception of ϕ , whose upright extends above and below the other letters. α has a low cross-bar; the cap of ϵ extends down to mid-line level at its tip, and the shortened cross-bar may have a full serif; the upper branch of κ is flattened; the middle part of μ is formed of two obliques meeting at a point on the line. Cf. XI 1361 and XXXII 2618, assigned to the first century.

The diphthong ω is written with iota (ρ). There are no lection signs.

The only other published papyri of Polybius are P. Ryl. I 60 + P. Berol. 9570 (MP³ 1433), assigned to the late first or second century, which gives part of book II, and LXXXI 5267, in the same hand, a scrap of book 28.

Collated with T. Büttner-Wobst's Teubner edition (ii, 1889). There are no points of textual interest.

γ]εγονο[ε εις (5.67.9)

παρασπον]δημα [την
 Θεοδοτου] προδο[ειαν
 και την εφο]δον α[να
 5 γοντες την] Αντιοχ[ου
 προεφεροντ]ο δε κα[ι τας 10
 επι Πτολ]εμειου τ[ου
 Λαγου κτ]ησεις φα[σκον
 τες επι τ]ουτωι ζ[υμ
 10 πολεμησ]αι C[ε]λευ[κωι

S. SLATTERY

5301. PLUTARCH, *ALEXANDER* 42.8-10, 43.3

17 2B.59/A(a)

3.7 × 10 cm

Third century
Frontispiece

Written across the fibres, a series of line-ends, with a blank space 1.5 cm wide on the right. The column width was about 7.8 cm. On the front, upside down in relation to the text on the back, and copied in a different hand, remains of an unidentified literary text: line-ends of one column and line-beginnings of the next, with an intercolumnium 1.3 cm wide at its narrowest.

The text is written in a small informal hand, leaning to the right. The hand is approximately bilinear, but the upright of ϕ ascends above and descends below the other letters, and

uprights such as those of ι and ρ may reach below the line (cf. 13). μ and ν may be raised on the right. The loop of α may be open at the top, or detached from the tail (13). μ is deep and rounded. ν is made in a single sequence, looped at the base. The crossbar of ϵ may be extended to touch the following letter. ϕ has a flattened loop. Cf. e.g. XLII 3055 (Pl. VII) of 285. The hand of the text on the other side is an example of the Severe Style, comparable to that of XVII 2098 (GLH 19b), which can probably be dated to the first half of the third century.

Initial ι has an inorganic diaeresis (6). A supralinear bar may represent ν at line-end (2, 11). Elision is effected but apparently not marked at 14. ω is once written for o (12).

There are new variants at 5 and 12, both possible, and there may have been another at 8, where the later sources disagree. There is a major omission at 14, and the text immediately after it appears to have been adjusted for the sake of clarity. The omission seems to have no obvious mechanical explanation, and the resulting text, if rightly reconstructed, is entirely coherent. Prof. Parsons suggests that there may have been a deliberate abridgment, designed to eliminate superfluous detail and play up the rhetorical contrast: two kings in the desert, of whom the victorious Alexander declines water, the defeated Darius begs for it. In a similar way, Zonaras will reduce much of the detail to a single sentence, and then emend Plutarch's text to provide grammatical continuity.

Alexander has not previously appeared on papyrus. For other published papyri of Plutarch, see the table in vol. LXXVIII, pp. 89–90 (adding the references in MP³). Twelve of the fourteen listed there, including all three of the *Lives*, are assigned to the second or third century; there is now also LXXXI 5270 (*Caesar*), of the second/third century. See in general P. A. Stadter, *Plutarch and His Roman Readers* (2014) 197–8.

The collation text is K. Ziegler's Teubner edition (ii.2) with addenda by H. Gärtner (1994). The editions of R. Flacelière (Budé vol. ix, 1975) and D. Magnino (*Vite* iv, 1996) have also been consulted. I am grateful to Prof. C. B. R. Pelling for his comments on the manuscript tradition.

] . [

] αλλα ς[ο]ν [ζ]ω(ν) (42.8)

τος ετερουσ ποιησομεθα κα]ν εκεινουσ
 απολεσωμεν ταυτ ακουσ]ας ελαβεν εις 9
 5 τασ χειρασ το κρανοσ περιβλ]εψαμενοσ δε
 και θεασαμενοσ τουσ περι αυ]τον ιππεισ
 απαντασ ευκεκλικοτασ] ταισ κεφαλαισ
 και προσ βλ]εποντασ α
 πεδωκεν ου πιων αλλ επα]ινεσασ τουσ
 10 ανθρωπουσ αν γαρ αυτοσ ε]φη πιω μον[ο]ς
 αθυμηρουσιν ουτοι θεασα]μενοι δε τη(ν) [10

εγκρατειαν αυτου και με]γαλωφροσυνη[ν
 οι ιππεις αγειν ανεκραγον] θαρρουντα και
 τους ιππους εμαστιζον μετ] ου πολυ δ' ευρισ[43.3
 15 κεται Δαρειος πολλων ακον]τισματων [
 καταπλεως το σωμα κειμενο]ς εν αρμαμ[α
 ξη μικρον απολειπων] του τελευτα[ν
 ομως δε και πιειν ητησε]ν και [π]ιων [

2–3 ε[ο]ν [ζ]ω(ν)[[τος with *AQ*, printed by Ziegler: *coû cώζοντος P*.

4 εic. There are two dots over ε, one on each side, perhaps casual.

5 περιβλ]εψαμενον. A new variant: the other copies have περιβλέψας, printed by Ziegler. For the middle, cf. *Cat. Mi.* 37.7 περιβλεψόμενον; the active is used at *Brut.* 17.6 κύκλω περιβλέπων, *Pelop.* 11.4 περιβλέψαντες ἐν κύκλω. The middle ending here may be due to the influence of θεασάμενος just after. In general, περιβλέπεσθαι middle belongs at lower stylistic levels (Polybius, LXX, NT).

8 It is not clear what the papyrus had at the start of the line after και προς. Ziegler prints αὐτὸν ἀποβλέποντας, taken from Zonaras 4.11 (i 295.5–6 Di.) και τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἰδὼν ἀποβλέποντας. The direct tradition offers ποτόν (τὸ ποτόν C) βλέποντας. Flacelière adopts the reading of C, while Magnino prints τὸ ποτόν ἀποβλέποντας. WBH suggests that the papyrus may have had και προς το ποτον αποβλ]εποντας, which seems just long enough to fill the space, noting that while Zonaras' πρὸς αὐτόν may be due to the influence of περὶ αὐτόν immediately before, his ἀποβλέποντας may still be correct. For the value of Zonaras as a source for the text, cf. C. B. R. Pelling, *CQ* 23 (1973) 343–4, and *Plutarch Caesar* (2011) 130–31, who argues that he preserves two fragments of *Alexander* and *Caesar* not present in our manuscripts.

8–9 α[[πεδωκεν: so the other manuscripts and Ziegler's edition. Zonaras has the inferior ἐπέδωκεν.

12 με]γαλωφροσυνη[ν: 1. μεγαλοφροσύνην. For interchange of ω and ο, cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 275–7. The other copies have μεγαλοψυχίαν, printed by Ziegler. WBH notes that 30.11 περὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐγκρατείας καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου supports -ψυχίαν here. μεγαλοφροσύνη of Alexander, *Alex.* 11.4, *Mor.* 345A.

13–15 Several lines of text have dropped out after και [[τους ιππους εμαστιζον, and the text in what immediately follows does not match that of the later manuscripts. WBH suggests that a passage was omitted and then minor changes made to bridge the gap: μόλις δ' εὐρίσκεται, as given by the later manuscripts, was replaced with μετ] ου πολυ δ' ευρισ[]κεται Δαρειος, because with the previous sentence left out, the subject could no longer be understood from the context. μετ' οὐ πολὺ is common in the *Lives* (followed by δ(ε) at *Dem.* 25.1 and *Pomp.* 53.8). The text has been supplemented above in accordance with this hypothesis. For a possible explanation, see the introd.

18 ητησε]ν. Ziegler prints ἦτησε without final -ν and records no variants.

19] . [. . .] [. The traces are the upper right-hand arc of a circle followed by an upright on the edge, and after the gap, the left-hand arc of a circle. WBH suggests supplying from the text of the other manuscripts υδωρ ψυχρον ειπε προς τον δ]ορ[τα Π]ο[λυ]στρατον.

IV. GLOSSARY

5302. ALPHABETICAL GRAECO-LATIN CONJUGATION TABLE

103/182(a)

13.7 × 17.4 cm

Second century
Plate VI

Remains of three columns with text running along the fibres. The upper margin is preserved to a depth of 1.6 cm, perhaps the original figure, and the lower margin also to a depth of 1.6 cm. The column is 14 cm high; col. ii holds 25 lines and col. iii 22, while col. i may have held 24. The intercolumnium is about 1 cm wide at its narrowest. On the back, approximately half-way along the fragment, there are traces of a doodle. Above it, extending to the upper edge, a reinforcing strip (1.5 × 5.3 cm) is stuck to the surface. The fibres on the exposed side of the strip run perpendicular to those on the back of the main piece, and the remains of several lines of Greek cursive run along them.

Each line of the text consists of a Greek verb form followed by its Latin equivalent. The Greek alphabet is used throughout. The alignment of the Latin forms in col. ii is determined by ii 1, in which the Greek and Latin are separated by a middle stop in a space about one letter wide, but in ii 2, following a longer Greek form, the Latin form begins about 0.5 cm further to the right, with a high stop in a narrow space to its left. No stops are used in the remainder of the column, but except at 20, each Latin form has a fairly generous gap to its left. For the use of stops as dividers, cf. perhaps the Latin-Greek glossary P. Sorb. inv. 2069 v., with E. Dickey, *ZPE* 175 (2010) 197-8.

The text is copied in a round hand comparable to the first hand of V 841 (*GLH* 14(a)). Diaeresis is applied to *ι* following consonantal *ου* for *υ* in a few places in the Latin (ii 9, 12, 13). An apostrophe is sometimes added after final *υτ* in the Latin column (ii 2, 7, 8), cf. *GMAW*² p. 11. Long oblique marginal dividers, sometimes projecting into the body of the column, mark the transition from one verb to the next. That at iii 19 is placed one line too high; this may suggest that the dividers were not copied together with the text but added hastily at a later stage (so WBH). For similar dividers, cf. C. Gloss. Biling. II 7 (XLIX 3452).

Within the Greek, a small *η* is added above the line at iii 1 as a correction of *ει* on the line. *ειλκ-* is spelt *ηλκ-* (iii 1 (*ειλκ-* a.c.), 2-3), and alphabetized accordingly; *ζωζονται* is written for *ζήγονται* (ii 14). On the Latin side, there are several uncorrected errors: i 5 (*Ιωι* for *-ω*), ii 7 (*-γ-* for *-γγ-*), 10 (*-ης* for *-ic*), 12, 13 (*ουι-* for *ουιου-*), 19 (*-av* for *-avτ*). There is also one correction made *currente calamo* in the Latin (ii 15); a final *τ* added above the line (ii 20) may have been omitted at first, cf. ii 19. There is no evidence that more than one scribe has contributed. The use of the Greek alphabet throughout indicates that the text was intended for Greek speakers, and the numerous copying errors on the Latin side are no doubt due to a scribe unfamiliar with the language.

Two other Greek-Latin glossaries of conjugated verbs have been published from papyri,

LXXVIII 5161 (iii/iv), with Latin in the Roman alphabet, and C. Gloss. Biling. II 3 (iii/iv), in which the Greek alphabet is used throughout. (Less close are the Greek–Latin vocabulary C. Gloss. Biling. I 1 (I BC), which includes partial conjugations, and the alphabetical Latin–Greek vocabulary C. Gloss. Biling. I 3 (iii), which includes isolated verb forms.) In 5161, the first, second, and third persons singular of the present are given for each verb in that order, while in C. Gloss. Biling. II 3, the same forms are given in the reverse order, beginning with the third person singular. In 5302, a more generous selection of forms is given for each verb. In the preserved part of the ζ section in col. ii (1–20), and perhaps also in the fragmentary col. i, the third, second, and first persons singular of the present, arranged in that order as in C. Gloss. Biling. II 3, are followed by the first person singular of the future and then the third person plural forms of the present and future. In the η section, different forms are chosen. For the first six verbs (ii 21–iii 19), the third, second, and first persons singular and third person plural of the aorist are given or plausibly supplied on the Greek side in that order. For the seventh verb in this section, three forms are preserved on the Greek side before the papyrus breaks off (iii 20–22): the second person singular of the aorist, the second person singular of the perfect, and the third person singular of the aorist.

As in 5161 and C. Gloss. Biling. II 3, the verbs are not alphabetized beyond the initial letter; cf. C. Gloss. Biling. II 7, where the alphabetization does not extend beyond the second letter. For other early examples of such limited alphabetization, cf. L. W. Daly, *Contributions to a History of Alphabetization in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (1967) 95. For thoroughgoing alphabetization, cf. the Oxyrhynchus Glossary (XV 1802 + LXXI 4812), with F. Schironi, *From Alexandria to Babylon* (2009) 39; C. Fakas, *APF* 47 (2001) 28 with n. 10.

The arrangement of the third, second, and first persons singular in that order in 5302 and C. Gloss. Biling. II 3 is unexpected; cf. the discussion in C. Gloss. Biling. II 3 introd., where Kramer suggests that the third person singular is given the greatest prominence because it is the most common. This order is one of those occasionally found among the conjugated verbs included in the alphabetical glossary of the Hermeneumata Monacensia (cf. CGL III 142.52–4, 143.23–5, 144.42–4, 146.56–8, 165.53–5). But in the set of conjugated verbs at the start of the alphabetical glossary of the Hermeneumata Leidensia (CGL III 3.29–4.25 = 29–87 Flammini), as in 5161 and the alphabetical glossary of the Hermeneumata Bruxellensia, the singular persons are arranged in order from first to third.

As for the choice of verbs, most of the material of the new text is paralleled in the alphabetical glossaries of the Hermeneumata (see comm.), but ἀναγκάζω (iii 16–19) is not found in the Hermeneumata at all, and ἔλκω (ii 25–iii 3) is not found there in the aorist.

The papyrus enriches our knowledge of the forms in which interest in the Latin language showed itself and represents interesting evidence as to how the language was learnt as early as the second century.

For a brief bibliography of the glossaries of the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana, see LXXVIII 5161–3 introd.; add now E. Dickey (ed.), *The Colloquia of the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana* i (2012) 20–24. The alphabetical glossary of the Hermeneumata Bruxellensia (B) is edited from Brux. 1828–1830 by J. Gessler, *RBPb* 16 (1937) 169–78, and from Angers 477 by

H. Omont, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 59 (1898) 676–9; images of another manuscript, Heidelberg, Salem IX.39, are available at <http://codices-saemitani-digital.uni-hd.de>. The various versions of the Hermeneumata included in CGL III are cited by page and line as A (Ampulioniana), E (Einsidlensia), L (Leidensia), M (Monacensia), and Mp (Montepessulana); Gloss. Bern. (Glossae Bernenses), Gloss. Leid. (Glossarium Leidense), Gloss. Lois. (Glossae Loiselii), and Gloss. Steph. (Glossae Stephani) are cited from CGL III in the same way. For the Hermeneumata Leidensia, references to the continuous numeration of G. Flammini, *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana Leidensia* (2004), are added.

The present edition forms the basis of that published by Dr Scappaticcio in her *Artes Grammaticae in fragmenti* (2015) 255–87.

Col. i	Col. ii	Col. iii
]αμ	ζωγραφουσιν· πινγουντ	ηλκυσαα [
]ουντ	ζωγραφησουσιν· πινγηντ'	ηλκυσα [
]τ	/ ζευγνυει ιουνγιτ	ηλκυ[σαν
]·c	ζευγνυεισ ιουνγιε	/ ηριε[τηεε
5]ωι	5 ζευγνυ[ω] ιουνγω	5 ηριετη[σαα
]·	ζεξω ιουνγαμ	ηριετη[σα
ο]υντ	ζευγνυουσ[ι] ιουνγουντ'	ηριετη[σαν
]·ντ	ζεξουσιν ιουνγηντ'	/ ηγνο[ησε
]·	/ ζη ουϊουιτ	ηγνο[ησαα
10]·	10 ζησ ουιουηε	10 ηγνο[ησα
]·	ζω ουιουω	ηγνο[ησαν
]·	ζησ ουιαμ	/ ημε[λησε
]·	ζωσιν ουιουντ	ημε[λησαα
·	] ζωσονται ουιουηητ	ημε[λησα
·	15 / ζ]ημιοι δαμνατ	15 ημελ[ησαν
·	ζ]ημιοιε δαμναε	/ ηναγ[καεε
·	ζ]ημιω δαμνω	ηναγ[καεαα
·	ζημ]ιωσω δαμναβω	ηναγ[καεα
·	ζημιο]υειν δαμναν	/ ηναγκ[αεαν
·	20 ζημιωσo]υειν δαμναβουντ'	20 ηψου [
·	/ ηλθε ου]ηνιτ	ηψαι [
·	ηλθεσ ο]υηνιετι	ηψατο [
·	ηλθον ο]υηνι	
·	ηλθον ο]υηνηρουντ	
·	25 / ηλκυε] δουξιτ	

Col. i

5 l. -ω

Col. ii

7 l. *ιουνηουντ* 10 l. *ουιουις* 12 l. *ουιουαμ* 13 l. *ουιουουντ* 14 l. *ζήονται*
 15 *δαμνατ*: ν written over an α 19 l. *δαμναντ*

Col. iii

1 *είλ*, 1. *είλ-* 2-3 l. *είλ-* 20 l. *ήψω*

Cols. ii-iii

'they paint, they will paint; he joins, you join, I join, I will join, they join, they will join; he lives, you live, I live, I will live, they live, they will live; he punishes, you punish, I punish, I will punish, they punish, they will punish; he came, you came, I came, they came; he dragged, you dragged, I dragged, they dragged; he breakfasted, you breakfasted, I breakfasted, they breakfasted; he did not know, you did not know, I did not know, they did not know; he was careless, you were careless, I was careless, they were careless; he forced, you forced, I forced, they forced; you touched, you have touched, he touched'

Col. i

The preserved Latin terminations would suit forms arranged in the same order as in ii 1-20, with a new verb beginning at 3 and]ωι at 5 written for -ω, except that a line giving the third person plural future indicative active forms appears to have dropped out between 2 and 3 (perhaps by *saut du même au même* on the Latin side, as WBH suggests). WBH argues that if the last four lines of the column gave the first four forms of *ζωγραφέω* (with on the Greek side *ζωγραφει, ζωγραφεις, ζωγραφω, ζωγραφησω*), the column probably held 24 lines, with 12 lines (two complete sets of verb-forms) missing between 8 (the last of a set) and the first of the forms given for *ζωγραφέω*.

Col. ii

1-2 A common pair: cf. B. Other examples in the bilingual glossaries of the mediaeval tradition are given at CGL VII 89 s.v. *pingo*. Cf. e.g. A 74.52, Gloss. Steph. 460.4, Gloss. Bern. 506.3, all giving the first-person singular form; fuller selections of forms in M 142.21-2, 24-6, Gloss. Leid. 413.75-414.4, 414.7. Note also the examples in the bilingual version of Aesop. 264 (L 45.44-46.42 = 2228-63 Flammini; Paris. Lat. 6503, CGL III 100.23-101.16), partially preserved in C. Gloss. Biling. II 10.

3-8 For this common pair, cf. B, CGL VI 611 s.v. *iungo*. Again there are partial conjugations in M 142.44-7 and 49 and Gloss. Leid. 407.65-72. L 4.36 = 98 Flammini has *ζευξον iunge*, and the first-person singular is found at A 74.47, E 261.16, Gloss. Steph. 453.35, and Gloss. Bern. 505.70; cf. also CGL II 93.54-63, 94.1, 3-4 (partial conjugation), 322.1 (first-person singular).

9-14 For this common pair, cf. CGL VII 426 s.v. *uiuo*; also BKT IX 39.33. A 74.39-41 and M 142.38-42 give partial conjugations; cf. L 4.39 = 101 Flammini (third-person plural), Mp 338.20, Gloss. Steph. 466.48, Gloss. Bern. 506.1 (first-person singular, also at CGL II 322.46).

10 *ουιουητ*: *ουιουις* is expected, with ι for Latin *i* in the termination, cf. 9 *ουιουιτ*. For the common interchange of η and ι, cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 235-42.

14 *ζωονται*: 1. *ζήονται*. The futures active (12) and middle of this verb are not distinguished. The corruption may be due to the influence of *ζωειν* in the previous line; (-)ζώκομαι is the future middle of (-)ζώννυμι.

15-20 For the pair, cf. CGL VI 304 s.v. *damno*. In the *Hermeneumata*, we find only M 142.59-60 (third and second persons singular).

21-4 For this common pair, cf. B, CGL VII 400 s.v. uenio. There are partial conjugations in M 143.20-25, Gloss. Leid. 420.56-68, and C. Gloss. Biling. I 1.48-57. *ηκω* for *ueni* appears to be found only at CGL II 323.57; there is also *ηξω* (l. *ἡξω*) for *ueniam* at CGL II 325.26.

25 *ηλκυε* is supplied in accordance with the alphabetical sequence, but *ειλκ-* may have been written, cf. iii 1 before correction. For the common pair *ειλκω/duco*, cf. CGL VI 367 s.v. duco: the examples include one partial conjugation in the Hermeneumata, at M 138.13-16 (present forms). On the common interchange of *η* with *ε* in an accented syllable, cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 241.

Col. iii

1-3 Cf. ii 25 n.

1 *ηλκυεα* [. The alphabetical sequence calls for *η-*, the reading after correction (so WBH), rather than *ε-* as written on the line.

4-19 The supplements assume a sequence of forms for each verb corresponding to that found in ii 21-iii 3. But it is possible that different forms were used, as at iii 20-22.

4-7 Forms of *ἀριτράω*. The Latin equivalents will have been forms of *prandeo*, cf. CGL VII 127 s.v. A 75.3 has *heristesā prandii*, and there is a partial conjugation of the aorist indicative active at M 144.16-19. Cf. also A 72.17-19, M 124.51-5, Gloss. Leid. 413.45-8, 50 (partial conjugations); A 73.15, Gloss. Steph. 460.73, Gloss. Lois. 486.66 (first person singular present indicative active, also in CGL II 244.41).

8-11 Forms of *ἀγνοέω*. The Latin equivalents will have been forms of *ignoro* as commonly, cf. CGL VI 539 s.v. (Only CGL II 216.49 offers *nescio* as an alternative Latin equivalent.) For the aorist, cf. A 75.2, preceding 75.3 *heristesā prandii* (cf. 4-7 n.). M 127.1-3 and 5-7 give a partial conjugation limited to present-tense forms.

12-15 Forms of *ἀμελέω*. The corresponding Latin forms will have been those of *neglego* as commonly, cf. CGL VI 733. (*supersedeo* does not appear as an equivalent except at CGL II 193.2.) For the aorist, cf. A 74.69, M 143.72-144.2 (followed by the perfect participle passive, 144.3-4); for the present, M 123.28-30, 33-5.

16-19 Forms of *ἀναγκάζω*. The Latin equivalents may have been forms of *compello*, cf. CGL II 104.50, 106.13. Other possible verbs include *cogo* and *impello*, cf. P. Ness. II 1.359-60 (Verg. *Aen.* 2.55) *inpulerat ferro*: *ἠναγκαλίσεν σιδῆρω*, 885 (*Aen.* 4.406) *cogunt ἀναγκαζουσιν*.

19 The oblique divider in the margin belongs one line further down.

20-22 Forms of *ἄπτομαι*. The Latin equivalents will have been forms of *tango*, as commonly, cf. CGL VII 332 s.v. (Only CGL II 7.12 and 326.10 offer alternatives, from *affecto* and *atingo* respectively.) For the aorist, cf. A 74.74 (first person singular), M 144.39-41 (singular forms); for the singular forms of the present, M 128.53-5.

The sequence and choice of forms does not match that found at ii 21-iii 3. The second person singular does not stand in first place elsewhere in the text, and there is no other evidence for perfect forms on the Greek side. It is possible that corruption has occurred, but it is not certain that the same sequence was observed throughout the *η* section. Cf. also 4-19 n.

20 *ἦψου*: l. *ἦψω*. For the use of *-ου* in place of *-ω* in the second person singular of the first aorist indicative middle, cf. M 144.41 *hipsū idest tetigisti*; Gignac, *Grammar* ii 349.

V. MAGIC AND MEDICINE

The following special abbreviations are used in this section:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| Audollent, <i>DT</i> | A. Audollent (ed.), <i>Defixionum Tabellae</i> (1904). |
| Betz, <i>GMPT</i> | H. D. Betz (ed.), <i>The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells</i> (21992). |
| Bonner, <i>SMA</i> | C. Bonner, <i>Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian</i> (1950). |
| Brashear, 'Greek Magical Papyri' | W. M. Brashear, 'The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928–1994)', <i>ANRW</i> II 18.5 (1995) 3380–3684. |
| Brashear, <i>Magica Varia</i> | W. M. Brashear, <i>Magica Varia</i> (Pap. Brux. XXV; 1991). |
| Davidson, <i>Angels</i> | G. Davidson, <i>A Dictionary of Angels Including the Fallen Angels</i> (1967). |
| Delatte, <i>AA</i> | A. Delatte, <i>Anecdota Atheniensia</i> , i: <i>Textes grecs inédits relatifs à l'histoire des religions</i> (1927). |
| Delatte–Derchain, <i>Intailles</i> | A. Delatte and P. Derchain, <i>Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes</i> (1964). |
| Faraone, <i>Love Magic</i> | C. A. Faraone, <i>Ancient Greek Love Magic</i> (1999). |
| GMP | I. Andorlini (ed.), <i>Greek Medical Papyri</i> (2001–). |
| Jordan, <i>SGD</i> | D. R. Jordan, 'A Survey of Greek Defixiones Not Included in the Special Corpora', <i>GRBS</i> 26 (1985) 151–97. |
| Jordan, <i>NGCT</i> | D. R. Jordan, 'New Greek Curse Tablets (1985–2000)', <i>GRBS</i> 41 (2000) 5–46. |
| Kotansky, <i>GMA</i> | R. Kotansky (ed.), <i>Greek Magical Amulets: The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper, and Bronze Lamellae</i> , i: <i>Published Texts of Known Provenance</i> (Pap. Colon. XXII.1; 1994). |
| <i>Lamella Bernensis</i> | T. Gelzer et al. (edd.), <i>Lamella Bernensis: Ein Spätantikes Goldamulett mit christlichem Exorzismus und verwandte Texte</i> (1999). |
| <i>Magika Hiera</i> | C. A. Faraone and D. Obbink (edd.), <i>Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion</i> (1991). |
| Michel, <i>MGBM</i> | S. Michel, <i>Die magischen Gemmen im Britischen Museum</i> (2001). |
| Michl, 'Engel' | J. Michl, 'Engel I–IX', <i>RAC</i> V (1962) 53–258. |
| Pradel, <i>GSG</i> | F. Pradel, <i>Griechische und süditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen und Rezepte des Mittelalters</i> (1907). |
| Tremel, <i>MA</i> | J. Tremel, <i>Magica Agonistica: Fluchtafeln im antiken Sport</i> (2004). |

5303. MAGICAL FORMULARY

104/106(b)

6 × 12.2 cm

Third century
Plate IX

A fragment of a roll with on the front the beginnings of 20 lines running along the fibres. The upper margin is preserved to a height of 0.9 cm and there is a blank space about 2.5 cm wide on the left. The back is blank. The text is written in an informal, medium-sized, upright hand of the third century with cursive elements (note κ, ξ, also π) and some ligatures. The hand is only roughly bilinear, with ρ and sometimes ι projecting below, and φ and ψ both above and below. Its general appearance is reminiscent of the chancery style of the third century. Useful comparanda are PSI VI 727 (= *Scrivere libri e documenti* no. 35, pl. XXX; II-III), PSI II 127 (*ibid.*, no. 36, pl. XXXI; II-III), and P. Gen. IV 166 (pl. XXIX; AD 267).

The column consists of the remains of four spells, which are too scanty to allow much inference as to their content. The forked paragraphus is used to separate the spells, but the last line has on its left an L-shaped sign, used as a major divider (see comm.). There is an apostrophe (4), but also an example of unmarked elision (9). The scribe has corrected the text at 5: see comm.

αθρωοτο . [
 / πρὸς ἔντευξε[ιν
 λίθου γλύψον [
 λον ὀρθὸν τὰ τ' [
 5 βασιον βα' cí' λ' έ' ιον . [
 / φασφεφλωωρια[
 / πρᾶξις Τυφω[
 διως ἐνεγκεῖν [ε̅-
 φ' ἡμέρας λ' [
 10 αὐτοῦ λαβῶν [
 αὐτοῦ καὶ γράψ[αε
 δὸς αὐτῷ φο[ρεῖν.
 / ε̅άν θέλης σου[
 καὶ πλήσον α . [
 15 τος π . [
 [
 εἰστο [
 γλώσσαν κ[
 καὶ βαλλο[
 20 | τοῦτο βασα[

2 I. ἔντευξιω 4 τ' 9 ᾶ

'(magical word?)

'For sexual intercourse (?) ... On a stone, engrave ... standing, and the ... tabasheer (?), royal sceptre (?) ... (magical word?).

'Rite, Typhon ... bear lightly (?) ... for thirty days ... of it. Having taken ... of it and once you have written ... give (it) to him to wear.

'If you want ... and fill it with river (?) water (?) ... tongue ... and being thrown (?) ... this, torment (?) ...'

1 *αθρωσο*. [: first, oblique descending from right; second, η? Perhaps a *vox magica*, at the end of the charm as at the end of the next charm (6); cf. PGM XVI 10 *αθρωα*.

2-6 Erotic (or success?) spell (see next n.). The user is directed to carve on a stone a figure presumably of a god, standing and holding a royal sceptre (?), and a *vox magica*. For recipes requiring engravings on semi-precious stones, see R. Gordon in H. F. J. Horstmanshoff et al. (edd.), *Kykeon: Studies in Honour of H. S. Versnel* (2002) 98 with n. 88. For the relationship between magical gems and magical papyri, see the references in Betz, *GMPT* 5 n. 14.

2 *ἐντευξε[ω]*, I. *ἐντευξιω*. Here probably 'sexual intercourse' (see LSJ s.v. 2.c; also s.v. *ἐντυγχάνω* II.2). The word, however, does not occur elsewhere in the magical papyri, and it is tempting to assume a copying mistake (cursive *πι* > *υ*) for *ἐπίτευξιω*, 'success', cf. PGM XII 271 *δακτυλίδιον πρὸς ἐπίτευξιν καὶ χάριν καὶ νίκην* (also XIII 339 *ἐπιτευκτικά*, 'success-spells'; IV 3000-3001 *ἐν καλῇ | ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐπιτευκτικῇ πρὸς πάντα*, and the gem Michel, *MGBM* i 45-6 no. 68, as read by R. W. Daniel, *ZPE* 142 (2003) 139-40, *καὶ ἔσο μοι ἐπιτευκτικόν*; cf. also PGM XII 202 *δακτυλίδιον πρὸς πᾶσαν πράξιν καὶ ἐπιτυχίαν* and the other passages mentioned at 5312 6 n.). The plural *-ε[ις]* is only a theoretical possibility: we expect the singular in a phrase of this kind.

3 *λίθου* is probably governed by an *ἐπί* lost in the lacuna, cf. PGM V 447-8 *ἐπ' ἱασπαχάτου λίθου γλύψον Κάραπιν προκαθήμενον ἔχοντα βασιλείον κήπτρον Αἰγύπτιον*, XII 273-4 *ἡλιος γλύφεται ἐπὶ λίθου ἡλιοτροπίου*. Possibly the stone was to be set on a ring (as in PGM V 447-58, XII 207-8, 271-7), or worn around the neck on a thread (as in I 67-9, 147-8); in IV 1745-6, a carved stone is to be put under the tongue.

4 *λον: εἶδω* | *λον* preceded by the name of a god or demon in the genitive? *κροκόδει* | *λον* (Suchos)? *ὀρθόν*. Cf. PGM XII 145-6 *γράψον εἰς βύσσινον ράκος ... θεὸν Ἐ[ρ]μῆν | ὀρ[θ]όν*, Alex. Trall. *Therap.* 8.2 (ii 377.6 P) *εἰς λίθον Μηδικὸν γλύψον Ἡρακλέα ὀρθόν*.

5 *βაციον*. I have considered supplying the rare word *λοι* | *βάκιον* (a cup for pouring libations, see LSJ s.v.), but it is not clear how this can be connected with what, presumably, follows (see next nn.). Another possibility is an adjective in *-βάκιος* describing, like *ὀρθόν*, the posture of the figure: but what? Perhaps then it was *τα* | *βάκιον*, 'tabasheer', cf. R. Halleux, *Les alchimistes grecs* i (1981) 231.

βα | *λί* | *έ* | *ιον*. In *ZPE* 80 (1990) 295-6, I collected some examples (from magical texts and elsewhere) of *βαλευς* and *βαλεια* (written for *βασιλεύς* and *βασιλεία*), which for several reasons I was inclined to consider as abbreviations rather than errors; add now LXXVI 5072 ('Unconventional Gospel?') ↓ 9 *βαλεια*. The present instance of *βαλ-* in a cognate form seems *prima facie* best interpreted as an error: however, the scribe may have changed what he originally wrote (which in any case had a false ending, with *ι* for *ει*) in order to clarify a form that he had just copied as it stood in his exemplar.

[: left-hand side of a round letter. Possibly *ς* | *κήπτρον*, as in PGM V 448 (quoted above, 3 n.); cf. also PGM IV 261-3 *καλῶ ... τὸ ἐν ἐπ' οὐρανίων κήπτρον βασιλείον ἔχοντα*; *App. Plan.* 75.5 (Antipater, *GP* 336). The governing verb will be *ἔχειν* or *κρατεῖν*.

6 φαεφεφλωρια. I cannot interpret this as Greek. It is probably an unknown *vox magica*; cf. PGM IV 294 φαεφα, 2028 ρωωρια.

7 πράξις Τυφω. This recipe is connected in some way with Seth-Typhon. There are many possibilities; among others: (a) (with full stop after πράξις) Τυφῶ[ν, vocative (as in 5305 ii 21) at the beginning of a *logos*; (b) (again with full stop after πράξις) Τυφῶ[νος and then, e.g., αἷμα (cf. 5305 ii 5 with n.), κρανίον (PGM XIa 1-2), μέλαν (XII 97), μιλτάριον (IV 2220), μίλτον (XII 98; in all these cases Typhon means 'ass', see 5305 ii 5 n.), ὄνομα (IV 244); (c) πράξις τυφω[γναική (*vel sim.*, 'magical operation concerning Typhon'). On Seth-Typhon, see 5305 ii 21 n.

7-8 ῥα]δίως ἐνεγκεῖν would give an idiomatic nexus (cf. LSJ s.v. ῥάδιος B.I.1), but I have difficulty imagining the whole context.

8-9 εἰ]φ' ἡμέρας λ'. It is unclear what the period of a month was connected to: abstinence or purification of the practitioner (see 5304 ii 21 n.)? Material preparation of the rite?

10-12 The operator has to take an object (possibly a piece of papyrus or a lamella or the like), write something on it, and give it to someone to wear.

11 Probably γράψ[αc, coordinated with λαβών, rather than γράψ[ον.

12 δὸς αὐτῷ φο[ρεῖν. Cf. PGM XII 281-2 δὸς γὰρ φορεῖν αὐτό (a little ring), καὶ παραπὰ φεύξεται τὸ | δαμόνιον, LXI 37 λαβών τὸν δάκ[τυ]λον δὸς αὐτῇ φορεῖν; also XXIIa 15-16, *Cyran.* 1.21.63, 2.7.20 (pp. 95, 128 K.); with δίδου: *Cyran.* 1.9.13-14, 20.16-17, 22.25, 23.25-6 (pp. 61, 90, 102, 104 K.), Alex. Trall. *Therap.* 8.2 (ii 377.3, 7 P.), etc.

13 ἐὰν θέλῃς is frequent in prescriptions at the beginning, see *Suppl. Mag.* II 100.8 n.

cou]: probably the personal pronoun.

14 α. [Perhaps αὐ[τ-, e.g. λαβὲ φιάλην] | καὶ πλήσον αὐ[τήν (cf. PGM IV 3210).

15 τοc: perhaps ὕδα]τοc. For πλήσον ὕδατοc, cf. 5305 iii 14 with n.

π. [At the end, perhaps the base of a circle: πο[ταμίου (cf. PGM IV 3250-51)? πη[γαίου (cf. PGM I 234-5, 246, III 455, IV 2456, XII 382) seems excluded.

17 εἰc το: εἰc τό?

..... [first, c or e; second, scattered ink on the line; third, two curves on the line, perhaps ω or two round letters; fourth, a tight curve on the line, perhaps α; fifth, an upright curving to left at the foot; last, a dot of ink at line level on the vertical fibres, the top layer having been lost. cτόμα τ. [may be thought of, but μ is not a convincing reading.

18 γλώσσαν. Possibly the tongue of an animal manipulated in the rite, as in PGM X 38 (a ὑποτακτικόν) and probably in LXIII 10 (a charm to make a sleeping woman confess the name of her lover; see the apparatus (8-12 n.) for parallels). In IV 1745-6, the practitioner has to put a stone under his own tongue.

19 βαλλο[: βαλλο[μένην, with γλώσσαν?

20 τοῦτο seems the likeliest articulation, though e.g. αὐ]τοῦ τό is not excluded.

βασα[. Possibly a form of βάσανος or βασανίζω: the latter is used especially in erotic charms to indicate the torments inflicted on the victim (e.g. PGM IV 1412-13, XIXa 50-51, XXXVI 201; *Suppl. Mag.* I 42.16, 37, 60, II 72 ii 19); in 5306 15, βάσανοι are the pains caused by illness. Alternatively, it may be taken as a *vox magica*, cf. PGM IV 200 βασαναπτατου, LVIII 26 βασουμ, *Suppl. Mag.* I 42.33 βασαρα.

Because of damage, we do not know how long the horizontal stroke of the L-shaped sign was. This sign corresponds to what G. Cavallo, *Libri scritte scribi a Ercolano* (1983) 23-4, called 'paragraphos rinforzata'. In the Herculaneum papyri, it appears to have a greater separative force than the simple paragraphus, and is used to mark the end of a section (see G. Del Mastro, 'La paragraphos nei P.Herc. 1425 e 1538', *CERC* 31 (2001) 109-10; A. Romano, *I segni nel papiro ercolanese 1497 (Philodemi De musica, liber IV)*

(2007) 72–3, 83), which may also be the end of a book (Phld. *Mort.* 39.25; plate: W. B. Henry (ed.), *Philodemus, On Death* (2009) 159). Compare the Z-shaped divider with a lengthened base extending under the line of writing at the end of each epitome in the *Diegesis* papyrus (P. Mil. Vogl. I 18). An L-shaped divider is used sporadically in documentary papyri, for example to separate the body of the document from the *hypographe* (LXXV 5064), or the body of a petition from the farewell and the date (P. Ryl. I 68; pl. I).

As for magical texts, see P. Philammon p. 23 (pl. 15), where the sign closes the magical part, and the ostrakon Suppl. Mag. II 58.7, where, together with the indentation of the line that it flanks, it apparently indicates the beginning of a new section of the spell (though it seems to belong one line higher up). In our papyrus, then, it may mark the end of a major section or even the end of the handbook.

F. MALTOMINI

5304. MAGICAL FORMULARY

50 4B.30/G(1) front

18.8 × 28.7 cm

Third century

Plate IV

The front of this fragment of a roll gives parts of two columns of a magical formulary, running along the fibres; the back is published as 5315. A *kollesis* is visible about 3.5 cm from the left-hand edge. Of the first column, only the ends of 18 lines remain; the first visible line stands at the level of ii 24. The second column is preserved to its full original height: its 38 lines occupy a space 27 cm high. The upper margin is preserved to a depth of 0.5 cm and the lower margin to a depth of 1.5 cm. The right-hand side of the column is lost, but to judge by some certain or at least very probable supplements (4, 10, 24, 29), the original column width was about 16 cm. The layout looks irregular. No ink appears in the broad space above the visible line endings of col. i: were the lines in the upper part of the column shorter? Or did it contain magical words or drawings in some arrangement? Or did the scribe leave the space blank so that he could add more material later? The lines of col. i extend to the left-hand edge of col. ii with no intercolumnar space in between. It looks as if the scribe, possibly misled by the blank space on the left, started col. ii too far to the left; then, when he approached the level of i 1, he was obliged to place lines 23–7 (and possibly also line 22) on an alignment further to the right. There is another example of indentation in the upper part of the column: the beginnings of lines 1–3 are lost, but lines 4–8 at least are indented in relation to the usual left-hand margin.

The informal, medium-sized, upright, rounded hand, written with a thick pen, can be dated to the third century. It is generally bilinear, but ρ , ψ , and often ν project below, and ϕ always above and below. The letters, which have a flattened look, are usually made separately (α , ϵ , and ζ may ligature with ι). They include: looped α ; rounded ϵ often with an extended cross-bar (cursive ϵ in ii 25 $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$, 30 $\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon$); η usually with high horizontal; rounded μ in two movements; ξ halfway to cursive form; ν in one sequence with a high shallow curve alternating with ν made in two movements, this too with its cup carried well above the line and straight or sinuous tail; ψ like a simple cross; high ω tending to lose its central cusp and with the right-hand side often extending below the base. The right leg of λ is often raised to

a (quasi-)horizontal, especially when an ϵ or θ follows, with its cross-bar continuing at the same level; also the horizontal cap of ϵ and the horizontals of ϵ , θ , π , τ , and ψ extended to touch the following letter sometimes create the impression of an upper line (e.g. ii 6 *τουτοπο*, 8 *σελθηπροστην*). One can compare the third-century hand of VII 1016 (*GLH* 20a, *GMAW*² 84), and P. Köln II 101 (Harrauer, *Paläographie* no. 178, pl. 163) of 274 or 280.

The surviving text consists of several spells separated by long paragraphi. Wherever it is possible to check, each is given a heading consisting of a title written in mid-line: (1) i 1-18: a charm of uncertain nature (unless the beginning of charm 2); (2) ii 1-8: a love charm; (3) ii 9-18: a charm for subjecting (*υποτακτικόν*); (4) ii 19-27: a charm to restrain anger (*θυμοκάτοχον*); (5) ii 28-34: a binding love charm (*φιλτροκατάδεσμος*); (6) ii 35-8: a charm for attraction (*άγωγη*). In two cases (ii 19, 28), the initial letter of the title is repeated about 1.5 cm to the right of the title proper. The θ at ii 19 is written with a thinner pen, perhaps by a second hand; the ϕ at ii 28 has an upright curving to the left at the foot, unlike the normal ϕ of the main hand, and it too may be due to a second hand. There is no such addition to the title at ii 9, nor apparently at ii 35, although the papyrus breaks off just over 2 cm to the right of the title there. The precise reason for these occasional additions escapes me. Perhaps someone read through the text in order to pick out some spells according to their kind or in alphabetical order and to make a new collection of charms. In any case these annotations (it seems) were not part of the handbook as copied, but were added at a later stage. For the supralinear letters in ii 5 and 6, see ii 4 n.

No accents, breathings, or apostrophes occur. Diaeresis is used on initial ι and υ and internally to separate vowels. Δ stands for *δεῖνα*. Some corrections apparently by the original hand indicate that the text was revised after it had been written.

Col. i

] οι Ίσι βασιλικά
] ὅτι ἐγώ ἰμι . . . ξος
 (-)κε] κλει' σ' μένω ὑπο
] . ος καὶ οἴξεις μοι
 5] αι βοθηῆσαι
] καὶ Κρόνος
] ι μήτηρ
] . καὶ παρα
] μοι πε
 10] . ὅτι ἔχω σ
] ισματα
] ημαι παρα
] ερον . υε

15] . [. .] . κ[]ια γ'
] και λ . . . `ς' . αι γ'
 στ]ρ(ο)βειλίω στ .
]σιηχορσε[
] . ι [ικ . .]ο . . [

1 ι ιει c from corr. 1 βασιλίσσα 14, 15 γ̄ 2 ἴμι, 1. εἴμι 16]ρ βειλιω, 1. στροβιλίω 3 ὑπο 7 μήτηρ, τ from corr. 11]ισματα,

Col. ii

[c.15] . ωχημημεν [. .] . [. .] . []
 [c.15] στατων πρωτόγονε ου περ[
 [c.15] σημεια κοντευ κοντευ κο[ντευ
 δ[c.15] ησον τήν ψυχήν του δ(εῖνα), ου ε[τεκεν ἢ δ(εῖνα),
 5 ξω[c αν ἔλθη πρὸς ἐμέ,] τήν δ(εῖνα), ἣν ἔτεκεν ἢ δ(εῖνα). εκδι . [
 τον δ(εῖνα) [c.12] ηθεις τουτο ποιω ἵνα αὐτῶ c[
 κύριε Ἰαω [. . .] ιω ιηω αοιου ἰαω ιαιααι ἄξ[ον
 φλέξον, ἀν[α]ψον τήν ψυχήν του δ(εῖνα), ὡς ἔλθη πρὸς τήν δ(εῖνα) [

[ὑποτ]ακτικόν (vac.) []
 10 λαβὼν [π]έτ[αλον] κυπριακὸν χάρασσε ἐν χαλ[κ]ῷ γραφ[εῖω τὰ
 ὀνόματα [ταῦτα ὡ]ς ἔχει καὶ κατάρραψον ἢ εἰς κανδάλιον ἢ εἰς
 χαλαβαρ[] ἰοα θελθουηχ
 χθιοβιο[] αω αλτιβιλτιχ
 χαρο [] ωι θελκιχανωχ
 15 σερποτχει[.]μουχ ια[] ωιωηαν[
 . [.] . [. .] . η ου[] ὑπόταξόν μ[οι τὸν
 ηαίου ὑο[δ(εῖνα)] ἀνθρωπον [.] . []
 ηη[] [] []

θυμοκάτοχον (vac.) θ (vac.) []
 20 λαβὼν ζῶν[τα] χαμαιλέοντα κρέμασον αὐτ[ὸν . . .] . []
 κάπνιζε ρίζα[ν χα]μαιλέοντος ἀγνός τε πρὸ ε[. .] . [.] . . []
 [.] . [. .] . . [. . .] . αφωλ μενθω εεριζων . . . θεη . . ν . []
 . ει λίθον διὰ τ[οῦ] στόματος ὁμοιον φακῷ τὸ μέγεθος,
 25 χρύσειον, ἔκλαμπρον. τελέσας οὖν τῆ κατὰ πάντων τελ[ετη] ἔξεις ἀν-
 υπέρβλη[το]ν θυμοκάτοχον φορούμενος γὰρ περὶ τὸ ζῶμα[]

ἀρμόζει· ἔὰν δέ τινες ἢ οἱ δι' ἐναντίας λαλῶσιν π. [
 πρόσθλειβε τὸν λίθον καὶ οὐ μὴ λαλήσουσιν. [

- φιλτροκατάδεσμος (vac.) φ (vac.) [
 λαβῶ[ν] ὧν περιστερᾶς κατάγραφον τοῦ(ς) χαλακτῆρας το[ύτους καὶ τὰ ὀ-
 30 νόματα χοιλωχθονίας καὶ . . . [.] . . . πέπλου καὶ ζμυρ[ν-
 . . . κλα . ν τὸν λόγον ζ' καὶ ἐλίξας ὑμένι προβάτο[ν
 βάψον (vac.) *characters* ἢ Χνουβ[
 [] λ χηριρα [] ο Χνουβ[
 λείτω με ἢ δ(εῖνα) εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χ[ρόνον φι-
 35 ἀγωγή (vac.) [
 λαβ[ῶ]ν λεπίδα σιδηρᾶν , ρ[
 ματωκ[.] αἵματι χοιρείω καὶ . [
 ζτου καὶ ὅταν πυρωθῇ . [

2 πρωτόγονοι: οχ read in the archive photograph, now lost 4, 5 (bis), 6, 8 (bis), 34 Δ
 6 ἴνα Π I. κατάγραφον I4 θελκ, κ corr. from χ 21 τε 23 στοματος 26 τινες,
 ν corr. from c 27 l. πρόσθλειβε λαλήσουσιν, ν from corr. 29 l. χαρακτῆρας 31 ὑμενι
 36 λεπίδασιδηραν, ε and ν, re-inked

Col. i

'... come to me (?), Queen Isis ... because I am ... closed ... and you will open to me ... to help ... and Kronos ... o mother Isis (?) ... because I have your (?) ... sacrifice (?) ... three grains of ... three (thirteen?) ... to (with?) a small pine cone ...'

Col. ii

'... first-born, whose ... *sêmeia konteu konteu konteu* ... bind, bind down (?) the soul of NN, whom NN bore, until he comes to me, NN, whom NN bore. Punish (?) NN, whom NN bore (?). I do this because I suffered wrongs (?) in order that ... with (to?) him. Lord Iaδ ... *id idδ aoieou iaδ iaiaai* drive ... burn, kindle the soul of him, NN, until he comes to her, NN.

'Charm for subjecting. Take a copper lamella and engrave with a bronze stylus these words just as they stand and stitch it on a sandal or on ... "*chalabar chthiobio chaso ... serpotchei ... mouch ... ε εαιου iou, αδ δι ia ... ou ... uo ... εε ... thelthouéch alibiltich thelkichanóch ... διδδau* ..., subject to me the NN man, whom NN bore (?)".

'Charm restrainer of wrath. Take a chameleon alive and hang it ... smoke a root of the plant chameleon and becoming (?) pure seven days (?) before say (?): "... *aphól menthó eerizón ... theé ... n ...*". Push through (its) mouth a stone, like a lentil in size, ... gold-coloured, very bright. And after consecrating it with the consecration that works for everything, you will have an unsurpassable wrath restrainer charm, for, worn around the body, it is adapted for all things (?); but if someone or the opponents in a lawsuit speak ... press the stone and they will certainly not speak.

'Binding love charm. Take a pigeon's egg and write down on it the following magical signs and the words "of the hollow earth" (?) and "...-mantled", and with (?) myrrh ... the spell seven times, and having

wrapped it up in a sheep's skin dip it (*characteres*), *ἐι Chmoub ... l ... chëina ... o Chmoub ... let her, NN, love me for the entire time*".

'Charm to drive (the beloved). Take an iron tablet and write (?) ... with the blood of a pig and take it and put it in the furnace of the hypocaust (?) and when it has melted ...'

Col. i

1-18 It cannot be determined whether these lines are the beginning of the erotic charm at ii 1-8 or part of a different charm. If the scribe was consistent in giving each spell a heading in mid-line, such a heading could only be accommodated at the foot of col. i below line 18. The remains are too scanty to enable us to understand exactly the nature of the charm (see below, 3-4 n.). We can however distinguish a *logos* (1-12) and a *praxis* (13-16).

1] οι: possibly ἐλθέ] μοι. If so, there is a close resemblance to the beginning of the gold lamella in Kotansky, *GMA* 61.1 (a fertility and conception charm) ἐλθέ πρός ἐμέ, Ἰσις; for other possible similarities between these two texts, see the notes below. For ἐλθέ μοι (ἡκέ μοι, δευρό μοι, often at the beginning of the prayer) in the magical papyri, see F. Graf in *Magika Hiera* 189-93.

Ἰσι βασιλῖα (l. βασιλῖα; for the simplification of c, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 158-9). For Isis in the magical papyri, see T. Hopfner, *AO* 3 (1931) 121-3. βασιλῖα of Isis: XI 1380 36, 218 (= M. Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- und Sarapis-Religion* (1985) no. 20); Bernand, *Inscr. métriques* 167.3 (= Totti no. 41), 169.6 (= Totti no. 43); Kotansky, *GMA* 61.18; SEG XLVIII 1306.2-3 with A. Mastrocinque's note, *ZPE* 120 (1998) 112; (βασιλῖα) Isid. *Hymn.* 1.1 (= Totti no. 21).

2 ὅτι ἐγώ ἴμι (l. εἴμι). A common phrase that the practitioner employs to strengthen his request, giving his credentials (cf. PGM vol. III (Register) 152 and see Brashear, *Magica Varia* 44; A. Mastrocinque, *ZPE* 120 (1998) 113 (10 n.)). On the well-known predication ἐγώ εἴμι, see e.g. P. Mich. XVI 757.40 n.; P. Prag. I 4.2-4 n.; F. Graf, *Gottesnähe und Schadenzauber* (1996) 106 with n. 104; H. Thyen, *RAC* XVII (1996) 147-213 s.v. Ich-Bin-Worte.

ξοc: first, λ or δ; second, a vertical, iota suggested; ξ might perhaps be β. A magical name?

3-4 (-)κε]κλει'ς μένψ ... οἴξειc. Two possibilities among others: a reference to (a) a magical opening of doors (cf. PGM I 101, XII 162, *Cyran.* 1.4.45-51 (p. 41 K.); R. L. Phillips, *In Pursuit of Invisibility: Ritual Texts from Late Roman Egypt* (2009) 22); (b) the opening of the womb, which would make of this charm a sort of *φουκικλείδιον* ('pudenda key spell') like PGM XXXVI 283-94; cf. also the aforementioned Kotansky, *GMA* 61.11-12 ἀνοιξόν σου τήν μήτραν, and PGM LXII 103-4 ἀνοιγήτω ἡ φύσις καὶ ἡ μήτρα τῆς δεῖνα καὶ αἵμασσέσθω νυκτὸς | καὶ ἡμέρας (a charm for inducing abortion). (a) would probably exclude a continuation with the erotic ii 1-8; (b) would be compatible with it (see above, 1-18 n.). But cf. below, 9 n. οἴξειc is notable: one would expect ἀνοιξείc.

3 ὑπό οτ ὑπο-?

4] : an upright on the edge.

6 Κρόνος: most of the loop of ρ is lost, but ι cannot be read. Kronos was identified with Geb, the father of Isis, and this may account for the reference to him here. For Kronos in magic, see S. Eitrem in *Mélanges Bidez* (1934) i 351-60; R. Kotansky, *AncW* 3 (1980) 29-32.

7] ι μήτηρ: at the start, apparently the top of a round letter open to the right; c suggested. Probably Ἰσι (cf. above, 1). If so, μήτηρ was used either absolutely or followed by a genitive, e.g. Ἰσρου, θεῶν (see F. Colin, *ZPE* 102 (1994) 271-95); for other possibilities, see e.g. J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (1970) 606 (Index) s.v. Isis, mother.

8] : a vertical.

παρά οτ παρα-?

9]μοι πε . . . : first and second, two uprights close together and further high ink between them

which could represent the loop of ρ; there is further ink (a short upright below the line, perhaps casual) between the two uprights; third, an upright below the line; fourth, the base of a circle. According to the TLG, the sequence *μοι πε* (the only plausible articulation) occurs in the magical papyri only in *χρημάτικόν μοι περί τοῦ δεῖνα πράγματος οἱ περί ὧν ἐξεῖω* or the like, in divination charms. *περί τοῦ[ῶ] | [δ(εῖνα) πράγματος* is a possible reading here. If it is correct, *ἄ οὔξεις* could mean 'disclose', a sense well attested for *ἀνοίγω* (cf. LSJ s.v. *ἀνοίγνυμι* I.2). For Isis in divination charms, cf. PGM XXIVa 1, LVII 16; in PGM V 239–42, an image of the goddess is carved on an emerald scarab to be used in such a charm.

10] : a curve, perhaps the right-hand side of a big ω.

ὅτι ἔχω ς : at the end, the left-hand side of a round letter: ςε, or rather εο[υ followed by accusatives giving the object of ἔχω, among them]] *ιματα* (see next n.)? Once again (cf. 2), ὅτι introduces the reason why the request must be granted.

]]] *ιματα*. Possibly *γνωρίζματα*, in the sense of *σημεῖα, παράσημα, σύμβολα*: the practitioner says that he possesses (i.e. he knows; for this meaning of ἔχω, cf. LSJ s.v. A.1.9) the secret and mystic signs of the goddess (cf. e.g. PGM III 499–500, 623–5).

12]ημαι παρα. It is quite unclear how the line is to be supplemented. Perhaps *ἐπικέκλ]ημαι* (cf. PGM VII 894–5 (magical words including **Ισι πρόσειλθέ μοι, καθὼς ἐπικέκλημαί σε*)? Again, *παρα* or *παρα*-?

13]ερον υε: between ν and υ, a minimal trace (a dot at mid-level). The probable context (cf. next n.) suggests *θῦε*. Before this, purely *exempli gratia*, (? ἐλθὼν) *εἰς τὸ ἱ]ερόν*.

14] [. .] κ]ια: before the gap, parts of two diagonals apparently converging at mid-level (the arms of υ?); after the gap, probably the tops of the upright and of the upper arm of κ; after κ, the surface is damaged and it is not clear whether a letter is lost. Since *θῦε* probably ends the previous line and a numeral follows, [κο]κκία (perhaps written [κο]κκ[ε]ία?) seems to be the correct supplement. If so, the preceding letter (υ?) might belong to the name of an ingredient in the genitive: *τροβιλίου* (cf. 16)? *λιβάνου* (cf. PGM VII 637–8 *θῦσον λιβάνου | κόκκους γ*)?

15] καὶ λ . . ` ζ` . αι γ` or] καὶ λ . . ` ζ` . αι γ? Another ingredient, but what?

16 ς[ρ(ο)βελίω. In place of ο, the scribe left a blank space one letter wide between ρ and β. Pinecones are frequently used in magical rituals and sacrifices: cf. PGM II 25, 74, III 694, XII 21–2, XIII 9, 366, 1012; in PGM I 245, they appear as a component of magical ink, and in VII 183 ('Demokritos' Table Tricks') and Suppl. Mag. II 83.5–9, pine nuts are included in aphrodisiac recipes. Full discussion in L. R. LiDonnici, *Kernos* 14 (2001) 79–83.

οτ : it is uncertain whether ὄτε or ὅτι was written.

17]ειησοξε[. There is a high oblique between ε and η, perhaps to mark a pause. I do not know how to treat the sequence. Tentatively: *Ε]ε[ι[ι]η[ς *Οξε[ι[ρις* (e.g. 16–18 ὅτι | [ἐγώ εἰμι (XYZ καὶ) Ε]ε[ι[ι]η[ς *Οξε[ι[ρις]? But then it will be necessary to assume that the oblique has some other purpose.

18] ε [υκ . .]ο . .] : between ε and the deleted sequence there is a blank space one letter wide. The deleted letters are crossed out with a series of thick horizontal strokes.

Col. ii

1–8 Erotic charm. For a possible connection with col. i, see above i 1–18, 3–4 nn. A list of erotic spells is given by E. Pachoumi, *GRBS* 53 (2013) 316–25.

1] ωχημευ [. First, a triangular letter (α, δ, λ); at the end, the left-hand part of a circle. A single magical word (a variation of *φιβαωχημευ* PGM I 142)? Or] ωχ (ending of a magical word) *μη με υ* . [(although in that case we might have expected a diaeresis on υ)?

2] *ςτατων*. Possibly the ending of a partitive genitive (an adjective or a substantive) governed by

a preceding vocative (cf. the following *πρωτόγονε*), as e.g. in PGM XIII 605–7 *ἔνδοξε ἐνδοξοτάτων ... ἄλκιμε ἀλκιμοτάτων*. Or is it the ending of a present participle (e.g. *παρα]στατῶν*)?

πρωτόγονε. In the erotic charm PGM IV 1716–1870 ('Sword of Dardanos'), *πρωτόγονε* is used of Eros (1757), probably because of his affinity or identity with the Orphic primeval god Protogonos: for the correspondences between the attributes of Eros in PGM IV 1748ff. and the Orphic Hymn to Protogonos (no. 6), see Orph. fr. 143 Bernabé; A. N. Athanassakis and B. M. Wolkow, *The Orphic Hymns* (2013) 82; G. Ricciardelli, *Inni Orfici* (2000) 251. In all likelihood, then, the divine entity summoned in this part of the charm is Eros/Protogonos. In the curse in *venatores* Audolent, *DT* 242.5 (Tremel, *MA* 61), *πρωτόγονος* is applied to the god *Εφρονκειαιβλαβλεισφθειβαλ*.

οὔπερ or *οὐ περ-* (*Relativstil*) rather than *οὐ περ-*.

3 The *Semea-logos*, on which see PGM vol. III (Register XI) 242; Brashear, 'Greek Magical Papyri' 3433 n. 248, 3599 s.v. *Σημεα*, 3590 s.v. *Κοντε ον*; A. Mastrocinque, *ZPE* 120 (1998) 109 n. 4.

4 δ[*ε.15]ησον*: of δ[, only the lower left-hand corner. E.g. δ[*ἦσον*, δ[*ἦσον*, κατὰδ]ησον. For *κατὰδῆσον τὴν ψυχὴν* in an erotic spell, cf. PGM XXXII 14–16 *ἄξον καὶ κα[τὰδῆς]ον ψυχῆ[ν καὶ καρδίαν Καρπιάδο]*].

τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δ(εῖνα). As is well-known, in magical handbooks, the love charms that use the *δεῖνα*-formula are generally imagined as deployed by men in pursuit of women (possible exceptions: *Suppl. Mag.* II 72 ii 1–25 (see n.), and the fragmentary PGM XIXb 1–2 (no. 53 in Pachoumi's list (1–8 n.)); LXXVIII (no. 77 in Pachoumi's list) is a 'normal' love-charm, see *CCC* 1 (1980) 373 for a new reading of line 6). Our spell, on the other hand, appears to assume that the client will be a woman aiming at a man: lines 4 and 8 are unambiguous on this point. However, the situation is more complicated: over the η of ην (5), ο was written (apparently by the same hand), and over the ο of τον (6), η (in the same hand; for the supralinear α in 6, see n.). How is this to be interpreted? I see two possibilities: (a) the scribe aimed to eliminate the irregularity by changing the feminine to masculine and vice versa (for this method of correction, i.e. correct text written above without the text below being deleted, see *GMAW*² p. 16); (b) the scribe intended to give the two genders as alternatives (*ἦν* or *ὄν*, *τόν* or *τήν*): cf. PGM IV 2088–91 which in Preisendanz's text runs: *κοὶ λέγω, τῷ καταχθονίῳ δαίμονι, | τῷ ἡ οὐσία τῆςδε ([τ]οῦ[δ]ε) ἐσωματίσθη ἐν | τῆδε τῆ νυκτί· πορεύου, ὅπου κατοικεῖ ἦδε | (ἡ ὄσδε), καὶ ἄξον αὐτὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα*. After *τῆςδε* (2089), the papyrus has *ου*, on which Preisendanz comments in his apparatus: 'die Vorlage hatte wohl wie 2091 die Notiz: ἡ τοῦδε gegeben, aber so, daß sie bloß *ου* über ης geschrieben hatte. Vor und nach *ου* kleine Lücke'. The scribe did not operate in a systematic way: *τοῦ* and *οὐ* at 4, *τήν* at 5, and *τοῦ* at 8 remained unaffected; similarly, PGM IV 2091 *καὶ ἄξον αὐτὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα*, reverting to the usual pattern, is inconsistent with what precedes, for which see above. The love spell 28–34 is in accordance with the standard pattern, cf. 33–4 *φιλ]λείτω με ἡ δ(εῖνα)*.

4–5 Lineage through the mother is the rule in magical texts, see D. R. Jordan, *Philologus* 120 (1976) 127–32; J. B. Curbera in D. R. Jordan et al. (edd.), *The World of Ancient Magic* (1999) 195–204.

5 *εκδὲ* [. The final trace is an upright: *ἐκδίω]ξον* (which would be at home in this context, cf. PGM IV 2490, also XXXVI 195) should be ruled out. Perhaps *ἐκδίκ]ησον*: this verb, a technical term in revenge curses (or 'prayers for justice', see H. S. Versnel in *Magika Hiera* 60–106, esp. 65, 66–7, 71–2), would be unparalleled in erotic charms, but suitable for a lover suffering unrequited love and crying out for vengeance (cf. H. S. Versnel in F. Graf (ed.), *Ansichten griechischer Rituale: Geburtstags-Symposium für Walter Burkert* (1998) 263–4; id. in R. L. Gordon and F. M. Simón (edd.), *Magical Practice in the Latin West* (2010) 280). Compare the gems, used as love amulets, where the representation of Eros tortured by Psyche is accompanied by the inscription *δικαίως*: 'as Eros has tormented the soul, so is he also to be tortured' (Bonner, *SMA* 121; cf. also Michel, *MGBM* i 58–9 no. 88; V. Platt in L. Gilmour (ed.), *Pagans*

and Christians—From Antiquity to the Middle Ages (2007) 92). After ἐκδικ[ησον: either immediately 6 τὸν δ(εῖνα) (ἐκδικέω = 'punish'; the line would be a little shorter than 4, but this is not a fatal objection) or another imperative, e.g. ἄξον (for ἐκδικέω used absolutely, see DGE I.3 'hacer justicia'; G. Björck, *Der Fluch des Christen Sabinus* (1938) 82).

6]ηθει^ς τοῦτο ποιῶ. E.g. [ὄν ἔτεκεν ἢ δ(εῖνα). ἀδικ]ηθει^ς α' τοῦτο ποιῶ (if so, the supralinear α was added to correct a mistake or to indicate the feminine as an alternative, cf. 4 n.). Cf. PGM XIV 26–7 αὐτὸς ἢδ[ε] κησέν με καὶ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Τυφῶνος ἐξέχρυσεν παρ' ἐαυ[τῶ] (ἢ αὐτῆ). διὰ το[ῦ]το ταῦτα ποιῶ. For similar 'formulas of excuse', see H. S. Versnel in *Magika Hiera* 73.

c[: c[υμιμίξω, c[υμβιῶσω, c[υνουσιᾶσω, or the like?

7 κύριε Ἰαω [. . .] ἰω . . . ἰαῖαι. For κύριε Ἰαω followed by vowel series, cf. PGM IV 1222–6, V 472, SEG XLVI 2246.16 (with F. Heintz's note, *ZPE* 112 (1996) 298). On Ἰαδ, see e.g. P. Mich. 757.17 n. (pp. 79–80), D. E. Aune, *RAC* XVII (1996) 1–12 s.v. Ἰαο (*Ἰαώ*); for vowel series, common in magical texts, see e.g. Michel, *MGBM* i 376–7, with further literature. There is a blank space two letters wide between the last *vox magica* (ἰαῖαι) and the following ἄξ[ον].

After ἄξ[ον], another imperative probably completed the line. Imperatives in asyndeton are typical of the magical *logoi* (for the *defixiones*, see E. G. Kagarow, *Griechische Fluchtafeln* (1929) 35–6).

8 φλέξον. Cf. PGM IV 2767, Suppl. Mag. I 42.12, 15, 36, 45, and SEG XXXI 895; also PGM VII 611 ἄξάτε μοι αὐτὴν φλεγόμενην, LXXVIII 5 καταφλέξω; another possible occurrence of a form of καταφλέγω in SEG LII 988.11 (a *defixio* against circus factions; cf. Tremel, *MA* 90). For torturing the victim with fire, see A. D. Nock, *PBA* 17 (1931) 265; Faraone, *Love Magic* 58–9; also Versnel in Graf (5 n.) 249 n. 90 for further literature.

ἀν[α]ψον. Not elsewhere in love charms (the usual verbs in such contexts are καίω, πυρόω, φλέγω, and their compounds), but used in a curse against a charioteer from Carthage, c.250–300, SEG XL 921.11–12 (Jordan, *NGCT* 90, p. 24; Tremel, *MA* 67): ἀνάμσατε (l. ἀνάψατε) τὰ μέλη, τὰ νεύρα, | [c.10]–c.2– καρδιά(ν), νοῦν, φρένας.

τὴν ψυχὴν. Probably ψυχή here means 'soul', 'mind', etc., rather than 'female pudendum', as it certainly does in other places in the magical papyri and elsewhere; see Faraone, *Love Magic* 50 n. 48; Betz, *GMPT* 339, s.v. Soul.

ὡς ἔλθῃ. Final ὡς would be irreproachable in itself, but the standard formula has the temporal conjunction ἕως: PGM IV 1531, 1546, XII 490, XVI 6, etc. There is no need to correct to (ἐ)ως: ὡς 'until' is well attested in later Greek, see LSJ s.v. Ad.2; Gignac, *Grammar* i 305 with n. 3.

πρὸς τῆν δ(εῖνα). It cannot be determined whether the *logos* ended with this or ἦν (? ἔτεκεν) ἢ δ(εῖνα) or τῆς δεῖνα followed.

9–18 Charm for subjecting.

9 [ὑποστ]ακτικόν. Cf. PGM VII 396, 925, 940, X 36, Suppl. Mag. II 82 A.7 with n.

10 κυπριακόν. The meaning 'made of copper' is new (at least if in Dsc. 5.79.3 (iii 49.17 W.) τοῖς κυπριακοῖς μετάλλοις and 5.98.1 (iii 68.12–13 W.) τὰ κυπριακὰ μέταλλα the word means 'of Cyprus', but see J. Berendes, *Des Pedanios Dioskurides aus Anazarbos Arzneimittellehre in fünf Büchern* (1902) 512, 526). Elsewhere in the magical papyri we find the cognates κύπριος (PGM VII 466) and κύπριος (PGM IV 1847–8).

ἐν χαλ[κ]ῷ γραφ[εῖω]. Instrumental ἐν is frequent in the magical papyri, see PGM vol. III (Register) 89. Except in PGM IV 1847–8, where it is copper, the stylus is always bronze: see I. Mundle, *RAC* VI (1964) 485 s.v. Erz. For bronze in magic, see P. Oslo I 1.2 n. See in general on styli V. Schaltenbrand Obrecht, *Stylus* (2012), esp. i 52 on the use of bronze.

10–11 τὰ] | ὀνόματα [ταῦτα ὡς ἔχει. Another possible restoration might be ταῦτα τὰ] | ὀνόματα

[οὕτως ὦ]ς ἔχει: for οὕτως ὡς in similar contexts, cf. PGM VII 588, XIII 569.

π ὦ]ς ἔχει. The practitioner must follow scrupulously the model of the handbook with respect to the magical words and their disposition; cf. PGM XXXVI 266–7 γράφε κανῶ | καλάμω τὸ ζώδιον, καθὼς περιέχει, Suppl. Mag. I 5.4. ὡς ὑπόκειται is more frequent: PGM I 251, II 64, IV 408, 783, VII 398, 583, 588, 589, 724, 869, XII 24; cf. also VIII 65–6 ὡς ὑποδείκνυται σοι.

κατάραφον, i. κατάραφον: for the simplification of ρ, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 156.

εἰς κανδάλιον. The reason for placing the lamella in the sandal is given by PGM X 36–50 (also a ὑποτακτικόν): a lead leaf is engraved with magical words, a frog's tongue is put in it, and while they are placed in the right sandal, the following words are to be said (40–41): ὡς ταῦτα τὰ ἄγρια ὀνόματα | πατέται, οὕτως καὶ ὁ δεῖνα (the recipe is given together with a drawing of a boot, see PGM vol. II, pl. III 19); cf. the similar PGM VII 925–39 (ὑποτακτικόν; the leaf is to be put under the sole of the left foot), XIa 1–11 (the skull of an ass is to be placed under the practitioner's left foot in order to force the god to obey), Suppl. Mag. II 54.25–6, 99 front i 1–2, and the φιμωτικά in *Cyran.* 2.7.4–5 (p. 127 K.) ταύτης (the weasel) ἢ γλώσσαι ξηρὰ ὑπὸ τοῖς ὑποδήμασι φορουμένη φιμοκάτοχος ἐστίν, 40.45–7, 41.24–5 (pp. 178, 181 K.). Cf. also PGM IX 4–6 καθυπόταξον ... | πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων ... | ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ δεῖνα and VII 459–60 ἐπίγραφον ἐπὶ λάμνας κασσιτερίνης χαράξας. γράψον | καὶ θεὸς ὑπερπατῶν (υπερβατον pap., corr. Preisendanz; but see app.). Treading on images of enemies was a typical Egyptian form of cursing, see R. K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (1993) 119–36. More generally, for the motif of prostration under the feet used to indicate subjugation, cf. the erotic charms PGM XVIIa 8–9 (ἄξον δ[έ] μ[οι] αὐτὴν ὑπὸ | τοὺς ἔμοῦς πόδας) and Suppl. Mag. I 45.6–7; for non-magical texts, see Suppl. Mag. II 54.25–6 n. sub fin.

ἢ εἴς ὑπόδημα? πέλημα would presumably be preceded by ὑπό, cf. PGM VII 927.

12–18 *Voces magicae* arranged in three parallel columns, as e.g. in the previously mentioned ὑποτακτικόν PGM X 42–8. The second column is composed of vowels, on which see above, 7 n.

12 χαλαβαρ[.]: cf. PGM IV 1998, 2003–4 χαλβαν; Delatte–Derchain, *Intailles* 134–5 no. 172 μαχαραβα. In LXXIX 5205 8, WBH reads χαλβαβας (rather than χαταβαβας), noting that a similar word, χαλβαβας, follows shortly afterwards.

θελθουηχ. Unknown to me.

13 χθιοβιο[.]: cf. Delatte, *AA* 427.13 Ἀχθιόβ.

αλτιβιλτιχ: cf. Suppl. Mag. I 6.2 βελτι βελτι; for the beginning of the word, cf. Delatte, *AA* 70.29 Καλιτήλ, 438.1 Ἀλιτιδών.

14 θελκιχανωχ: the end sounds like the Coptic pronoun ἄνοκ 'I (am)', which sometimes occurs as a divine name (see Suppl. Mag. I 42.30 n.; C. A. Faraone and R. Kotansky, *ZPE* 75 (1988) 260; Michel, *MGBM* i 99–100 no. 156).

15 σερποτχει[.]μουχ: the beginning of the word corresponds to σερπωτ, part of the frequent formula σερφουθ (σερπωτ) μουι κρω, Egypt. *srp.t m3y sr* 'lotus lion ram', on which see Suppl. Mag. I 44.7–8 n.; Brashcar, 'Greek Magical Papyri' 3598; W. Fauth, *Helios Megistos* (1995) 46; Michel, *MGBM* i 303 no. 495. *Voces* ending in -μουχ: [ι]μμουχ PGM II 15, ενθομουχ VIII 7; on μουχ, see Brashcar, 'Greek Magical Papyri' 3593.

16–17 ὑπόταξόν μ[οι] τὸν | δ(εῖνα) ἄνθρωπον. Cf. PGM X 49–50 ὑπόταξόν μοι | τὸν δεῖνα, VII 967 (addressed to demons V 164, P 13a.3), IX 4, 9 (καθ-); Suppl. Mag. II 82 A.7, 99 front i 2 (see n.); P. Duk. inv. 729.9 (ed. D. R. Jordan, *GRBS* 46 (2006) 159–73); Audollent, *DT* 252.29, 253.39 (both *in agitadores*; Tremel, *MA* 98, 99); D. Ben Ami et al., *ZPE* 186 (2013) 232, line 18; Kotansky, *GMA* 58.27; H. C. Youtie and C. Bonner, *TAPA* 68 (1937) 55, lines 20–21 (= Youtie, *Scriptiunculae posteriores* ii (1982) 621; cf. Jordan, *SGD* 164). For τὸν δεῖνα ἄνθρωπον instead of the usual τὸν δεῖνα, cf. PGM IV 897, 910.

17 . [.] . [.] [first, probably σ ; second and third, a horizontal stroke which continues with the cross-bar of what looks like τ . Probably $\delta[\nu]$ $\xi\tau[\kappa\epsilon\nu]$ η $\delta(\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha)$.

19–27 Charm to restrain anger. These lines have been discussed in *ZPE* 147 (2004) 152–3 with reference to Libanius' chameleon episode (*Or.* 1.243–50).

19 *θυμοκάτοχον*. On this sort of charm, see *ZPE* loc. cit. (19–27 n.), with further literature; C. A. Faraone in S. Braund and G. W. Most (edd.), *Ancient Anger: Perspectives from Homer to Galen* (2003) 144. Another *θυμοκάτοχον* is 5305 ii 1–3.

θ : see introd.

20 *κρέμασον ἀντίδον* . . . [.] . [.] [Hanging of an animal (a frog) also in PGM XXXVI 235ff. Possibly the line continued with an indication of the place of hanging (as in the passage in PGM XXXVI), and the transition to the following line was made by *καί* or *εἶτα* or *ἔπειτα*: comparison with line 10 suggests that about 10 letters are missing. The two minimal traces do not help.

21 *κάπριζε*. Space is against *κατ[ά]γιζε*. For fumigations, cf. PGM III 23–4, VII 176, P. Philammon p. 22.17.

The use of the reptile and the homonymous plant together is prescribed, for similar purposes, also in *Cyran.* 2.43.9–11 (p. 183 K.). Because of their homonymy, animal and plant are in sympathy with each other, and so similar in function and magical power; cf. PGM XXXVI 283–4 *λαβῶν φῶν κορώνης καὶ κορωνοποδίου βοτάνης | χυλόν*. The whole first book of the *Cyranides* is based on the assumption that plants, birds, fishes, and stones whose names share a common initial letter are sympathetically linked; see M. Waegeman, *Amulet and Alphabet* (1987).

ἀγνός τε. Personal ritual purity is frequently prescribed in the magical handbooks: cf. PGM I 54–5, II 151, III 304, IV 26, 52, 734, 897–8, 3209, V 226, VII 334, 667, 725, 749, 843, 846, XII 208, XIII 4, 347, XXIIb 27, XXXVIII 1, LXXVII 24, and the passages quoted in the following note; also *Cyran.* I.I.158, I.7.95, 105, 1.22.12, 2.3.11, 3.9.44 (pp. 31, 55, 56, 101, 117, 200 K.); CCAG VIII.2 167.15, 19.

The meaning of the short horizontal stroke above the ϵ of *τε* is unclear (cf. also 23 n.): accidental? *τε* is suspicious: a mistake for $\delta\epsilon$?

πρό ε . [.] . [.] . . . [.] [Before the first gap: the foot of a vertical; after the gap: damaged traces on the line, perhaps two converging obliques, as of α or λ ; after the second gap: first, an oblique descending from left; second, perhaps ϵ ; third, an oblique ascending steeply from left to right starting below the base-line with a speck of ink on the right at its top (γ ? η ? ρ ?). We expect a temporal indication, cf. PGM IV 783–4 *πρό γ' ἡμερῶν ἀγνεύσας*, 1099–1100 *προάγνευε | δὲ πρό ἡμερῶν γ' ἀπὸ παντός*, XIII 114–15 (= 671) *προαγνεύσας . . . πρό ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν*. A reading *πρό ἐπ[τ]ὰ [ἡ]μερ[ῶν]* may be considered, but $[\eta]\mu$ looks rather too wide for the space. For a period of purity of seven days, besides PGM XIII 114–15 (quoted above), cf. IV 26, 52, 734–5 (supplemented), 3209, XXXVIII 1 (supplemented); for periods of purity in general, see R. Parker, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (1983) 352–6. After the putative $[\eta]\mu\epsilon\rho[\acute{\omega}\nu]$, something like *γενόμενος* (...) *λέγε*.

22 *αφωλ*: perhaps for *αφωρ* (PGM XIII 1059, interpreted as *Ἄφ Ὡρ* 'Apis, Horus', see Brashear, 'Greek Magical Papyri' 3581)?

μνθω occurs as a part of the frequent palindrome *αβεραμενθωου-* etc., on which cf. *Suppl. Mag.* II 95 → 14–16 n.

εεριζων. Unknown to me.

23 ϵ : the left-hand side of a circular letter. 22–3 $\acute{\omega}||\theta\epsilon\iota$ seems preferable to $\tau\acute{\iota}||\theta\epsilon\iota$ or a compound. There is an unexplained horizontal stroke above the α of *στόματος*, cf. 21 n. on *ἀγνός τε*.

ἄμοιον φακῶ τὸ μέγεθος. For a gemstone compared to a lentil, cf. Plin. *NH* 37.147 (of the atizoe) *ad lenticulae figuram*. The size of the lentil is often taken as a term of comparison: cf. e.g. Str. 17.1.34

ψήγματα καὶ τύψω καὶ μεγέθει φακοειδῆ, Dsc. 2.147 (1.213.15 W.) τὸ σπέρμα προσπέφυκε φακοῦ τὸ μέγεθος, Thphr. *HP* 3.15.3 μέγεθος ἡλίκον φακόν, 3.17.2, Procop. *Pers.* 2.22.30 (i 254.21–2 H.), Paul. Aeg. 2.53, 3.64.3 (CMG IX.1 122.2–3, 281.11).

24 χρύσειον. Both contracted and open forms of this adjective occur in the magical papyri: see Gignac, *Grammar* ii 120 n. 1. Here probably 'gold-coloured, golden yellow' (LSJ s.v. Π), see Phillips (i 3–4 n.) 120.

ἐκλαμπρον. Although the surface is severely damaged, traces and space guarantee this reading. Neither a different compound of λαμπρός nor καὶ λαμπρόν can be read. For λαμπρός used of a λίθος, cf. *Lapid. Naut.* 3 (p. 188 Halleux).

τελέεας οὖν τῇ κατὰ πάντων τελε[ετῇ]. The stone has to be consecrated to be efficacious: see S. Eitrem, 'Die magischen Gemmen und ihre Weihe', *SO* 19 (1939) 57–85. For the consecration 'valid for all purposes', cf. PGM IV 1596, VII 872, XII 209. In general, for consecration rites in the magical papyri, see F. L. Schuddeboom, *Greek Religious Terminology—Telete & Orgia* (2009) 92–6; also A. J. Festugière, *CPh* 46 (1951) 82–3.

ἔξειε is supplemented *exempli gratia* (cf. *Cyran.* 1.7.17–19 (p. 50 K.) ἐὰν γλύψῃς ... καὶ ὑποβάλλῃς ... ἔξειε φυλακτήριον, 2.5.22, 2.17.4–5 (pp. 124, 144 K.)); ἔχε is also possible (cf. *Cyran.* 1.20.13 κατακλείεας ἔχε μέγα φυλακτήριον, 1.21.34–5, 105 (pp. 89, 93, 98 K.)).

24–5 ἀν]υπέρβλη[το]γ. Cf. PGM II 150, IV 1873–4, 3171; *Cyran.* 1.2.19 (p. 33 K.). For authoritative claims in the magical papyri, see e.g. Phillips (i 3–4 n.) 62–3, 99–100, 118.

25–6 φορούμενος ... ἀρμόζει: this phrase structure is extremely common in the *Cyranides*: cf. 1.3.37–8 (p. 37 K.) εἰς κοίτην δὲ φορούμενον ὄραματα ἀληθῆ δεικνυειν, 1.4.24–5, 67–8, 1.10.96, 1.13.22–3, 27–8, 1.17.16–17 (pp. 40, 42, 67, 74, 84 K.), etc.; cf. also PGM XXIIa 11–12.

25 φορούμενος agrees with λίθος (23).

περὶ τὸ ζῶμ[α]. Cf. PGM IV 2631–5 λαβῶν μάγνητα ... φόρει περὶ τὸ ζῶμα.

26 ἀρμόζει or a compound thereof. The verb is here intransitive with the meaning 'to suit, to be adapted for' (see LSJ s.v. Π.2 and *DGE* s.v. B.I.1). At the end of 25, possibly πρόσειε πάντα, another frequent authoritative expression (cf. PGM IV 1167 ε]τήλη πρὸς πάντα εὐχρηστος, 2622–3 διαβολή πρὸς Κελήγην ποιαῦσα πρὸς πάντα, XXXVI 1 κάτοχος, εἰς πάντα ποιῶν).

τινες: ν written on ε (i.e. the scribe wrote τις first).

οἱ δι' ἐναντίας are the opponents in a lawsuit, see LSJ s.v. ἐναντίος I.2.c and cf. e.g. P. Cair. Isid. 66.19, P. Panop. Beatty 1.145, SB XVI 12692.29; in literature D. L. 1.84, etc. For the frequent judiciary context of the θυμοκάτοχα, see *ZPE* 147 (2004) 150–53.

λαλώω. Cf. PGM V 321–4 μῆ | λαληκάτω, μῆ ἀντισπ(α)άτω, μῆ ἀν|τειπάτω, μῆ μοι δύναιτο ἀντιβλέψαι ἢ ἀντιλαλήσαι, VII 937–8 ἵνα | μῆ δυνηθῶωιν λαλεῖν τῷ δεῖνα, O 1.4–5 μῆ ἕατος αὐτὸν λαλή|σαι (see D. Jordan, *Eulimene* 1 (2000) 129) Ἄτρῶ, 9–10. The curse tablet I. Klaudiupolis 9 (111 or 117; Jordan, *SGD* 194–5 no. 169, *NGCT* 35) probably has another example of the verb used in a judicial context at iii 6–17: πάντες οἱτοὶ | ἐ[στ]ῶσαν κατα|[δε]δεμένοι, | μῆ ἀντιλέγον|τες, [μ]ῆ λαλοῦν|τες, μῆ ἐνβλε|ποντες, ἀλλὰ | ἀναυδοί, | κωφοὶ ἔστω|σαν, μῆδὲν κατ' αὐ|[τοῦ] λέγοντες | Καπετωλίνου. C. A. Faraone's statement that 'λαλεῖν and its cognates do not seem to appear on *defixiones* designed to prevent litigants or others from speaking or persuading in public venues' (*GRBS* 53 (2013) 329) needs to be revised.

π. [. The traces are ambiguous: either π and the foot of an oblique gently ascending from the left, or λ with its right leg well raised followed by a round letter (ο rather than ω). The word may be connected with λαλώω or with the following πρόσθειβε: an adverb or predicative adjective? πρ[ό]ς ce cannot be read.

27 πρόσθειβε, 1. -θειβε: the user is to press the stone against his body.

καί. For this use of καί, see 5308 8–10 n.

οὐ μὴ λαλήσουσιν. For οὐ μὴ with the future, see LSJ s.v. I.2. But λαλήσουσιν may be written for λαλήσων; ω > ου is common, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 209–10. The confident assertive tone conveyed by οὐ μὴ is frequent in magical recipes and the like: cf. PGM IV 1054–5, Suppl. Mag. II 72 ii 27, 28, 29, *Cyran.* 2.7.24, 2.22.7, 3.1.10, 3.53.7, 4.30.5 (pp. 128, 150, 188, 241, 266 K.), *Geop.* 13.11.2 (p. 397.3 B.), CCAG IX.2 154.6, XII 118.21–2.

28–34 Erotic charm.

28 φίλτροκατάδεσμος: 'binding love spell'. This technical word occurs only in magical texts (PGM III 163–4, IV 296, VII 191, VIII 1, Suppl. Mag. I 38.8).

φ: see introd.

29 ὠὸν περιστερᾶς. Pigeons' eggs were deemed to have an aphrodisiac power (cf. *Cyran.* 3.37.24–5 (p. 226 K.) τὰ δὲ ὡὰ αὐτῆς ἐσθίόμενα ἔντασιν ποιούσιν, also 3.55.18 (p. 243 K.)), and so they are at home in a love charm. For eggs in magic, see P. Oslo I 1.140 n., 283 n.; Phillips (i 3–4 n.) 119; for writing on eggs, see Suppl. Mag. II 97 ↓ 3 n.

τοῦ(ς) χαλακτῆρας (l. χαρ-). For the omission of -ς, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 124–5; for ρ > λ (cf. PGM XIII 1003, 1045, LXII 40, 41), *ibid.* 102–7.

29–30 τὰ ὀνόματα χοιλωχθονίας καὶ . . . [.] . . . ἐπέπλου. The sense, orthography, and reading are all difficult. (i) The two genitives may be intended either (a) as subjective genitives referring to an unnamed divine feminine entity (if so, ὀνόματα = 'names'; but I would expect τῆς before χοιλωχθονίας), or (b) as appositive genitives (like Ἰλίου πόλις, cf. Pl. *Crat.* 402c πηγῆς ὄνομα, and see KG i 264–5; ὀνόματα = 'words'). I incline to (b). (ii) χοιλωχθονίας is vox nihili and there are no obvious emendations: in any case it seems to conceal an unattested word. Perhaps κοιλοχθονίας 'of the hollow earth' (cf. [Mosch.] 3.103 ἐν χθονὶ κοίλα, where dead men are placed)? (iii) . . . [.] . . . ἐπέπλου: first, perhaps α, second and third, bases of two round letters or, if just one letter, ω; after the gap, perhaps the lower half of a round letter. Space and traces do not suit ἐλκεσεπέπλου or any of the other attested compounds in -πεπλος.

30 ζυμυρ[ν]-. A form of ζυμύρνα, ζυμυρνομέλαν, or ζυμυρνίζω? Incensing or (further) writing or a burnt-offering? On the use of myrrh in the magical papyri, see L. R. LiDonnici, *Kernos* 14 (2001) 65–79; R. L. Gordon, *MHNH* 7 (2007) 125–6. For the spelling ζμ-, usual in papyri, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 121–2.

31 . . . κλα . . . γ τὸν λόγον. The first two traces are almost completely lost to abrasion (the left-hand arc of a circle and a short oblique ascending from left to right?); after κλα, perhaps υ. This is not reconcilable with what one would expect here (if the reading λόγον is correct): a form of λέγω, διώκω (especially imperative or participle), or τοῦτον.

ζ'. A sevenfold repetition of a *logos* is a very frequent prescription; cf. 5305 iii 3 and PGM III 420, 422, 427, 695, IV 74, 910, V 454, VII 364, 439, XIII 264, etc.; see P. Oslo I 1, pp. 61–2 (137 n.). On the number seven in magic, see Brashear, *Magica Varia* 69–70; W. Fauth, *ZPE* 98 (1993) 73; also Pradel, *GSG* 65–7.

ἐλίξας ὑμένι. For the construction (i.e. 'wrap something up in something'), cf. *DGE* s.v. ἐλίξω III.2.

ὑμένι προβάτο[ν]. In PGM IV 814–15 and 817–18, sheepskin is employed as material for writing an amulet.

32 βάψον: the putative ν is almost entirely lost in a small gap. At the end of 31, e.g. ἐν ὕδατι πηγαίω. Between βάψον and the first *characterēn*, there is a blank space about four letters wide.

Characterēs. For the magical signs in general, besides Brashear, 'Greek Magical Papyri' 3440–43, D. Frankfurter, *Helios* 21 (1994) 205–11, Michel, *MGBM* i 374, cf. now R. L. Gordon, *MHNH* 11 (2011)

15–44, and in V. Dasen and J.-M. Spieser (edd.), *Les savoirs magiques et leur transmission de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance* (2014) 253–300. Several articles in *ACD* 47 (2011) are focused on *caractères* of different traditions and periods.

η̄: here probably the Coptic interjection η̄ 'oh', see *Suppl. Mag.* I 44.8 n. For other interpretations, see also Brashear, 'Greek Magical Papyri' 3586.

32, 33 Χνουβ[ι]: either Χνουβ [(cf. PGM XIII 1058) or the more frequent Χνουβ[ι]c. Both forms indicate the god/decan Chnouph (Chnoubis), on which see Betz, *GMPT* 333–4; Michel, *MGBM* i 193–5 no. 304; A. Mastrocinque, *Sylloge gemmarum gnosticarum* i (2004) 242–7.

33 χηιρα [: cf. PGM XIa 6 χηθιρα, VII 754 χειρη̄ν, IV 3208 χαωρα.

33–4 φ̄ι|λείτω με ἢ δ(εῖνα). Cf. PGM VII 972, X 7, XIc 6 (supplemented), XXXVI 288, LXI 23, 72, P. Duk. inv. 729.8, 22, 26–7 (ed. Jordan (16–17 n.)); PGM VII 650–51 (φιληγάτω); also P. Mich. inv. 15600.17–18 n. (ed. M. Zellmann-Rohrer, *ZPE* 194 (2015) 183–7).

34 εἰς τὸν ἀπαντα χ[ρόνον]. It cannot be established whether the *logos* stopped here or, as often, went on with τῆς ζωῆς μου or αὐτῆς, or with τοῦ αἰῶνος. Cf. P. Moraux, *Une défexion judiciaire au Musée d'Istanbul* (1960) 55–6, for magical texts that end with such phrases.

35–8 Charm for attraction, probably (as 38 πυρωθῆ suggests) an ἀγάγγιμον ἔμπυρον; for charms of this type, see 5305 ii 4 n.

35 ἀγωγή: the technical term for the kind of erotic magic that 'leads' the beloved to the lover. Cf. e.g. Faraone, *Love Magic* 25–6.

The second paragraphus may have been added to indicate that the text immediately below it belongs to col. ii and not with the text of i 16 immediately to the left.

36 λεπῖδα σιδηρᾶν. On the use of iron in magic, see T. Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* i (SPP XXI, 1921, 1974) § 596; Nock (8 n.) 270, n. on line 31; Betz, *GMPT* 76 n. 267; further literature: S. Alfayé Villa in Gordon and Simón (5 n.) 441 n. 22.

ρ[: one expects γράφε or γράψον, and a small γ could perhaps be recognized in the angular top left-hand corner of the trace; but there is much more ink that is difficult to explain (γ after correction?). Very uncertain.

37 ματωκ[.]: probably a dative connected by κ[αί] with αἵματι.

αἵματι χοιρείω. The blood of a pig is here presumably used to wet the lamella (rather than as ink to write on it: metal plates are usually engraved with a stylus), cf. PGM IV 3260 [χρ]ῖνον αὐτὸ (sc. πλινθίων ὤμόν) αἵματι Τυφῶνος καὶ χο(ι)ρίου, XXXVI 233–4 χρίσας (sc. λάμαν μολιβῆν) αἵματι νυκ|τερίδος. The pig is a Typhonic animal (see T. Hopfner, *AO* 3 (1931) 136 with n. 5), and so appropriate in a spell of aggressive magic like an ἀγωγή.

καὶ [: foot of an oblique ascending from left to right (λ, μ, χ suggested). Purely *exempli gratia*: 37–8 καὶ λ[αβῶν βάλε εἰς τὴν κάμνον τοῦ ὑποκαύ]|ζτου, 'and take it and put it in the furnace of the hypocaust' (cf. PGM II 48–9 βάλε εἰς ὑποκαύστραν | βαλανείου, VII 469 βάλε εἰς ὑποκαυστήριον βαλανείου).

38 ὅταν πυρωθῆ. If, as I think, the iron plate is the subject, the verb here means (in the passive) 'to be made red hot' or 'to be melted' (LSJ s.v. III.1; BDAG s.v. 2).

[: a dot at mid-level on the edge.

5305. MAGICAL FORMULARY

2 1B.94/G(f)

38.4 × 18.5 cm

Late third century
Plate VII

Four columns of text, written along the fibres; the back is blank. Of the first column, only the right-hand side survives, and of the fourth, only the left-hand side; all are broken at the foot. The column width is about 12.3 cm. There is a margin about 1 cm deep above cols. ii and iv, but cols. i and iii extend up as far as the preserved upper edge: ii 1 and iv 1 are level with i 3 and iii 2. The intercolumnium is variable: cols. i–iii are very close together, but a space at least 1.4 cm wide is left between cols. iii and iv. Two *kolleseis* are visible, 2.7 cm and 18.6 cm from the left-hand edge.

The papyrus contains several spells, each of which (at least where it can be checked) is headed with a rubric at the beginning of the first line. The end of a spell is indicated by a paragraphus at iii 3 and 12, but left unmarked at ii 3 (for the stroke below i 14, see i 1–28 n.). Contents: col. i (if a single spell), probably an amulet; ii 1–3, *θυμοκάτοχον*; 4–24, *ἀγώγιμον ἔμπυρον*; iii 1–3, drinking-cup charm; 4–12, *χαριτήσιον*; 13–20, love charm; iv 1–19, *φίλτρον*.

Two hands may be distinguished. The first is responsible for cols. i and ii, and the second for cols. iii and iv. Minor differences within cols. i–ii in respect of letter formation, inclination, thickness of strokes, and line-spacing suggest that the text was not copied in a single stretch. Since the lower part is missing, we cannot determine whether the second hand took over at the foot of col. ii or at the top of col. iii. Both hands, datable to the late third century, are informal, medium-sized, and roughly bilinear, with sporadic ligatures, but they differ markedly in overall appearance and letter formation. For the first, cf. VII 1015 (*GMAW*² 50; late III); for the second, which is broader, leans slightly to the right, and is written with a finer pen and greyer ink, cf. P. Köln X 418 (pl. XXIII; Harrauer, *Paläographie* no. 186, pl. 171; III/IV). The fact that two scribes contributed is interesting as possibly indicating that this magical handbook was produced in a copying centre. All the corrections are due to the original hands.

There are no accents, breathings, or apostrophes. Diaeresis is used on initial *i* and *v* and to separate vowels. Δ stands for *δεῖνα*. *ἔτεκεν* is once reduced to *ετεκ* with raised *κ* (ii 16–17). Magical words are sometimes partially overlined (ii 18, iii 2, 7, 17). There are many orthographical errors.

Col. i

] . . . [. . .]
] λαβῶν ο[
] φι ἕαρον δὲ
] εμμευων ε
 5] ρ τῆς λήψεως
]

] ωνοιηεα
] νοιηεα
] οιηεα
 10] ιηεα
] ιηεα
] [η]εα
] εα
] α
 15]
] *characteres*
] *characteres*
] ι τουτο το
] .σινι λαβ[ω]ν
 20] καθαρον και μο-
] ονεν λαβων ανγιν
] εξ αυτου πτυχιον
] ονομα βελονη αργυ-
] και δησας περιεψον
 25] . ο εστιν αργεμωνη
] εστε. προςεχε δε
] .μικτις νόκος υπο
]

21 l. ἀγγείον?

27 ὑπο

Col. ii

θυμοκάτοχον· λαβων πιτάκιον ἐπει[γραφε
 ἐπ' αὐτῷ· κηι φερφερετ μετὰ διφυλο [. .]
 και πειρηθησον περει τον αρειστερον βραχειοννα.
 αγ[ο] ὄγιμον, ἔνπυρον ἐν βαλανίω· () και γραψον
 5 αἵματι Τυφ[υ] ὄνος και κόλλησον εἰς τὸν ξηρὸν
 θόλον τοῦ βαλανίου· ἐξ[ο]ρκίζω σε γαῖα και
 εἶδατα τοῦ δαίμονος τοῦ ἐν σοὶ ὄντος
 και τὴν τύχην τούτου τοῦ βαλανίου,
 ἵνα ὀ(ς) σοὶ πυροῖς και κήη και φλογίζη

- 10 οὔτος καῦσον τὴν δ(εῖνα), ὃν ἔτηκεν δ(εῖνα),
 ἕως ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμέ τὸν δ(εῖνα), ὃν ἔτηκεν δ(εῖνα),
 ὅτ' ἴ' ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ Ἰᾶω Καβαοθ
 Οδοῖαι Παγουρη Ζαγουρη α . . . τρακα
 ατρακεως αταραξ̄ κατοτραβαρα[
- 15 τρακταρατρα[. . .] τακ̄ ἄγι[α ὀ]νόματα, πυ[ρού]-
 ται οὕτως καὶ κ̄[αίε]τε αρδ' ἴ' α τῆς δ(εῖνα), ἦν ἔ-
 τε κ(εν) ἢ δ(εῖνα), ἕως ἔλθῃ πρὸς τὸν δ(εῖνα), ὃν ἔτεκεν ἦ [δ(εῖνα),
 ἰω ἰω Ἰᾶω Ερβ[ηθ] ἰω ἰω Πακερβηθ υω[
 Βολχοςηθ [. . .]νεβεσχιν Παταθναξ̄
- 20 Απομψ̄ Ἰακ[ουβ]ια Σηθ, ὁ ἰσχυρὸς θεός,
 ὁ κρατερὸς Τυ[φῶν . . .] . . . ς ἄκουσον, ἰω[
 . αβρα . ῥ'ηλι . [. c.10]αρσοιπ[
 [.]αγη[. . . c.17 . . .]ωπ . [.] . γ . [.
 .] . αι β[

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| 1 l. πιττάκιον ἐπίγραφε | 3 l. περιδῆσον περί, ἀριστερὸν βραχίονα | 4 l. ἔμπυρον, βαλανεῖω |
| 5 αματι from εμ- | 6 τουβαλ, υβ from σοιπ. | 6, 8 l. βαλανείου |
| from δεμ- | 1. τοῦ | 7 l. ὕδατα δαιμονος |
| 10 (bis), 11 (bis), 16, 17 (bis) Δ | 9 l. ὡς cὺ πυροῖ, καίη | καί (second), κ from c |
| 15-16 l. πυροῦτε | 11 l. ἔτεκεν | 12 caβαοθ, ο from ω; l. Καβαοθ |
| 16 καί, κ from β? | 17 τε ^κ | 13 l. Αδωναι |
| | 18 πακερβηθ̄ υω[| 20 ἰσχυρος |

Col. iii

Col. iv

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| ἐπίλο[γος] {ἐπίλογος} εἰς ποτή[ριον] . . .] | φίλτρον επ̄ . [|
| Ἰαβαθ [. .]χερεθ βιχ θουραθ[. . .] | . ε βαλλομ[|
| βιβ βι λέγε ζ' κ[. . .] | γράφε τέ' δέ κα[|
| χαριτήσιον· λ[α]βῶν χάρ[την καθα]ρὸν | οοοοο ιμι ηηη ε[|
| 5 ἐπίγραφε δὲ ζμυρνομέλανι{ν} καὶ | 5 πρὸς τὸ μοαι . [|
| [φόρ]ι π[ερί] τὸν τράχηλον. εἰς δέ· λελα | του Αμιω θ' βθκ . [|
| . ε . ω Καβαοθ Αβλαναθαναλβα | εἰερατικὸν . ρ[|
| [Α]βρ[α]σαξ̄ βερασ αρραγαξ̄ σαμ | πτερρο[|
| [αααα]ααα ιιιιι ααααααα εεεεεεε | τάδε γ[|
| 10 οοοοοοο υυυυυυ ωωωωωωω, δός μοι χάριν | 10 ειβι κατ[|
| πρὸς τὴν δ(εῖνα), ἦν ἔτηκεν ἦ δ(εῖνα), ἕως ἔλθῃ | μενω[|
| λ[. .] . η με ἦ τὸν δ(εῖνα), ὃν ἔτηκε ν' ἢ δ(εῖνα). | cὺ ἐκθέ[ωσον |

	..... [ . . ] ν εἰς γυνέκας· λαβῶν	οὕτως τ[
	κι [.] κενὸν πλήκρον ὕδατος	ἄξις μο[ι
15	καὶ ἐπὸν τὸν λόγον πρόσχυε παρὰ τὸν	15 ὀρκίζω [
	στροφέα τῆς θύρας κράτι επεὶ ν' φον	τω φοβ[
	ἄρσ' ον χαχαχαχαχα φορορφρω	Αβρασα[ξ
	εχχαεβεχ[. . . . κ]αὶ ποιήσον τὴν δ(εῖνα),	εεε ηηη[
	ἦν ἔτηκεν ἡ [δ(εῖνα),] ελ[. .] λην ἐμέ	[. . . .] [
20	τὸν δ(εῖνα), ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ δ(εῖνα). λέ]γε δέ· αρια	
]	

Col. iii

2 βιχ̄	3 λεγε, first ε from α	ξ̄	5 επιγραφε, γ from ρ	6 l. φόρει	7 .ε̄.ω̄
9 αααααα, fifth α from corr.	10 υυυυυυ, first υ from ο	δοc from και		11 (bis), 12 (bis), 18 Δ	
11, 12, 19 l. ἔτεκεν	13 l. γυναικάc	14 l. καινόν	15 l. εἰπών	16 l. κράτει ψῆφον?	
17 ἄρσ̄	φορορφρω, first ρ from υ	18 εχχαεβεχ[̄, first χ from corr.			

Col. iv

3 l. γράφεται	7 l. ἱερατικόν	8 l. πτερο[
---------------	----------------	-------------

Col. i

'... having taken ... kufi (?). Leave ... binding (?) ... of the attack (?) ... δυοἰῆα uoiῆα oiῆα iῆα iῆα ἕα ἕα a. caractères. ... this name (?) ... saui. Having taken ... clean and ... having taken a vessel ... from it a tablet ... name with a silver needle ... and having bound attach (it) ... i.e. a poppy ... Pay heed ... illness ...'

Col. ii

'Charm to restrain anger. Take a slip of papyrus and write on it *kēi pherpheret* with two-leaved (?) ... and tie it around your left arm.

'Charm for attraction, burnt offering in the bathhouse. <...> and write with blood of Typhon and glue it to the dry vaulted vapour room of the bath: "I adjure you, earth and waters, by (?) the demon who dwells on you and (I adjure) the fortune of this bath so that, as you blaze and burn and flame, so burn her, NN, whom NN bore, until she comes to me, NN, whom NN bore, for I adjure you by Iaδ, Sabaōth, Odonai, Pagourê Zagourê a...traka atrakeōs atarax katotrabara ... traktaratra...tak. Holy names, inflame in this way and burn the heart (?) of her, NN, whom NN bore, until she comes to NN, whom NN bore, iō iō Iaδ Erbēth iō iō Pakerbēth yō ... Bolchosēth ... nebeschin Patathnax Apomps Iakoubia Sēth, the powerful god, the strong Typhōn Sēth (?), listen, iō ...'

Col. iii

'Spell to a drinking-cup: "*Iabath ...chereth bich thounath ... bib bi ...*". Say it seven times ...

'Charm to win favour. Take clean papyrus and write on it with myrrh ink and wear it around your neck. They (i.e. the words to be written) are: *lela ... Sabaōth Ablanathanalba Abrasax beras arragax sam aaaaaaa iiiiii aaaaaaa eeeeeee ooooooo uuuuuuu ôôôôôô*, give me favour before her, NN, whom NN bore, until she comes ... me or NN, whom NN bore.

'... towards women. Take a new cup (?) and fill it with water and, saying the formula, pour near the socket of the door. Clasp the number (?) 996. Spell: "chachachachacha phororphrô echchasebech ... and make her, NN, whom NN bore, ... me, NN, whom NN bore". Say: "aria ...".'

Col. iv

'A praiseworthy (?) love-charm ... is written ... ooooo iiiii êêê e ... towards the ... Amiôth bthk ... hieratic ... feather ... write (?) this ... eibi ... deify ... in this way ... I adjure ... Abrasax ... eee êêê ...'

Col. i

1-28 As the line beginnings are lost, it cannot be determined whether these lines all belong to the same charm. The horizontal stroke at the end of the 'wing', below line 14, probably does not indicate the end of the charm. There is evidence of continuity in 18-24 (see 21-4 n.), but a new recipe could have begun in 25-7. Lines 2-4 and 18-24 belong to the *praxis*, 5 (?), 7-14, 26, (27?) to the *logos*. As for the nature of the charm, *περίαψον* (24) strongly suggests a phylactery.

2-3 λαβῶν ... ἔαρον. Cf. PGM II 35-9, V 225-8, VII 186-8, 628.

3] φι: first, a minimal trace on the line. This could be κ]φ̄ι or κο]φ̄ι, cf. PGM IV 1313, 2971, V 221, 227-8, VII 538. On the blended incense *kufi*, see L. R. LiDonnici, *Kernos* 14 (2001) 78-9.

ἔαρον δέ: cf. PGM XII 314.

4.]εμμευων. No Greek word ends with this sequence. Perhaps I. δ]εμμεύων (with omission of ε before μ and gemination of the latter)? Cf. PGM V 320 καὶ δεμμεύων λέγε.

e: end of a horizontal at mid-level (γ, λ, c, τ). Perhaps 4-5 λέ]γε as in PGM V 320 (quoted above)?

5] ρ τῆς λήψις: at the start, a curve (α, μ, ο, ω). If the charm is a phylactery (see above, 1-28 n.), λήψις might mean here 'attack, seizure' of fever or illness (LSJ s.v. II). In PGM I 96 αὐτῆ ἢ ἱερὰ λήψις τοῦ παρέδρου (cf. 54), the word has the usual meaning 'acquisition'.

7-14 The seven vowels are given in reverse order in the shape of a wing, produced by leaving off a letter from the beginning of the series in each successive line (cf. PGM LXII 96-102). The sequence *ηεα* is erroneously given twice (10, 11). For this and analogous shapes, their meaning, and a list of the examples in magical texts, see C. A. Faraone, *Vanishing Acts on Ancient Greek Amulets* (2012). As the wing is clearly not centred in the column, there was probably at least one more to the left (possibly in inverse form, cf. PGM I 13-19, where however the shape is triangular).

16-17 *Charactères*. Most of the signs are not clearly discernible, but they seem for the most part 'alphabetic' in nature. One of those in line 17 is the wheel shape, ⊗, for which cf. Brashear, *Magica Varia* 58-9; id. in M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (edd.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (1995) 217; A. Mastrocinque, *Sylloge gemmarum gnosticarum* i (2004) 95, 97. For literature on *characteres*, see 5304 ii 32 n.

18]ι τοῦτο τὸ At the end, there are only specks on a damaged surface; the number of letters and line length are uncertain. κα]ι τοῦτο τὸ ὄνο[μα? τέλεσόν μο]ι τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶ[γμα?

19] .cavi: first, a high horizontal. This looks like a *vox magica* (cf. PGM XIII 756 *ucav*, LVII 34 *cav*), perhaps part of the (?) name (see previous n.).

20 χάρτην]? Many possibilities, cf. PGM vol. III (Register) 113 s.v. *καθαρός*.

20-21 μό|[λιβον? μο|[λιβούν?

21] .ονεν: first, the end of a horizontal at top level. (-)γέ]χονεν?] .ον εν?

ἀγγίν: probably a miswriting for ἀγγεῖον, cf. BGU XIII 2350.14 ἀγγίν.

22 πτύχιον: cf. PGM VII 740 (γράφον) εἰς π[τ]ύχιον κακκτιέρινον.

23-4 ἀργυ|[ρᾶ. For silver in magic, see P. Oslo I 1.37 n.

24 δῆσας περίαψον: cf. PGM IV 816-17, XXXVI 329-30. The sentence could end here (cf. PGM IV 817, 1318, VII 197, 219, XXXVI 278, 330) or continue with the indication of the person (PGM IV 1252-3,

2155, 3016–17, BKT X 26.3–4) or the part of the body (PGM VII 207) to which the amulet is to be fixed. *περιάπτω* is technical, see *Lamella Bernensis* 6 n. 10.

21–4 Purely *exempli gratia*, one may consider supplying *λαβῶν ἀγνῶν* | [*κακσιτέρων, ποίησον*] ἔξ αὐτοῦ πτύχιον | [*καὶ γράψων τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα βελόνῃ ἀργυρῆ, καὶ ἐλίξας*] καὶ δῆσας περιᾶψον.

25] : an upright, with damaged surface to the left (ι or ν possible). Perhaps (*ἀγρία*) μήκω]γ (or (*ἀγρία*) μήκων]?)? Cf. Dsc. 2.177.1 (i 245.19 W.) ἀργεμώνη ὅλον μὲν ἔστιν ὁμοιον ἀγρία μήκωνι.

ἀργεμώνη. A low trace to the left of ε perhaps belongs to the tail of the ρ above in line 24, although we should not expect the letter to have had such a long tail: any ink immediately above the trace may have been lost to surface damage.

26]εστε. πρόσχε δέ. Ambiguous.] ἐτέ? But the plural is incompatible with the following singular imperative (unless *προσέχεδε*, i. *προσέχετε*). It is more economical to take it as the ending of a vocative: ἄςβ]εστε (of Helios)? In any case, line 26 seems to belong to the *logos*.

πρόσχε. Cf. PGM IV 1174 πρόσχε 'pay heed!' (in a prayer to the god Aion).

27] , μςτις: first, a minimal trace on the line. Indefinite τις? But what before?

ὑπό οἱ ὑπο-?

Col. ii

1 θυμοκάτοχον. See 5304 ii 19 n.

πιτάκιον, i. *πιττάκιον*: for simplification of -ττ-, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 161. On *πιττάκιον*, see BKT X 26.2 n.

2 κηῖ. Cf. the beginning of *κηραωνινοφ* in Michel, *MGBM* i 236–8 nos. 376, 377.

φερφερετ. Cf. PGM V 434 [φ]ερφερευ, I 204, IV 1197 φερφριθω, XIII 974 φερφρω, Audollent, *DT* 240.2 (= Tiemel, *MA* 59) φερφρω, Delatte, *AA* 70.16 *Φερφεριηλ*. For magical words beginning with duplication of the first syllable, see W. Fauth, *ZPE* 98 (1993) 67–8.

μετὰ διφυλο . [. . .] [is a small trace at mid-height. After the gap, the traces are rubbed; the number of letters is uncertain. Probably a miswriting for *διφυλλο* | (simplification of λλ: Gignac, *Grammar* i 155). *δίφυλλος* occurs in Cosm. Ind. *Tóp.* 11.10, see *DGE* s.v.; *δίφυλος* (unattested, but cf. *τρίφυλος*, *τετράφυλος*, etc.) seems not to suit the context. The reference may be to a plant whose juice is employed as ink (cf. e.g. PGM IV 779–82, 2143–4, 2392–4, V 70–72, etc.). For a similar use of instrumental *μετὰ* and genitive, cf. PGM VII 226 γράφε μ[ετ]ὰ μέλανος γραφικοῦ.

3 πειρήθησον περεί, i. *περίθησον περεί*. For ε > ει, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 256–7; for ι > η, *ibid.* 237–8; for the common ι > ει, *ibid.* 190–91 (191 for *περεί*).

ἀριστερὸν βραχείοννα, i. *ἀριστερὸν βραχίονα* (for gemination of ν, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 158). On the left in magic, see Brashear, *Magica Varia* 43. Cf. 5308 8–9.

4 ἀγ[ο] ᾠγ'ιμον. The scribe originally wrote *αγοιμον* (for the frequent omission of γ before a front vowel, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 71–2; a similar mistake in LXVIII 4674 i ἀγώημον). Then he cancelled ο with an oblique stroke and added ωγ above the line.

ἀγ[ο] ᾠγ'ιμον, ἔνπυρον (i. ἔμ-: see Gignac, *Grammar* i 168–9). A charm for attraction by means of fire, i.e. a variety of the *ἀγωγή*-spell in which the user makes burnt offerings and attempts to burn the victim by 'sympathetic magic', cf. LVIII 4674 i, PGM VII 295, XXXVI 69, 102, 295; *Suppl. Mag.* I 42 is also an ἔμπυρον, and probably also 5304 ii 35–8. See Faraone, *Love Magic* 26, 28, 50, 58, 164.

ἔν' βαλανίω (i. -νείω): of the supralinear ν, only the feet of the two uprights are preserved. Bath-houses were believed to be haunted, and were often used for the performance of various kinds of magic. The topic has been frequently discussed, see especially C. Bonner, 'Demons of the Bath', in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (1932) 203–8, and most recently D. Fabiano in F. Prescendi and Y. Volokhine

(edd.), *Dans le laboratoire de l'historien des religions: Mélanges offerts à Philippe Borgeaud* (2011) 275–88 (with previous literature; one may add *Lamella Bernensis* 119).

() και γράψον. Something has dropped out before και, at least 'take' (λαβέ) with the object to write on, probably a sheet of (clean) papyrus (as in the *ἔμπυρον* PGM XXXVI 69–133, which shows close similarities to our text, see following nn.), or in any case something combustible.

5 αἵματι Τυφ[υ]ῶνος. εματι was initially written; then ι was written on ε and α just to its left, causing the line to project slightly. The 'blood of Typhon' (cf. PGM IV 3260, VII 653, XIV 26, LXI 61) is the blood of an ass (cf. the parallel text PGM XXXVI 72 αἵματι ὄνιω, VII 301), the favourite animal of Seth-Typhon (see e.g. P. Moraux, *Une défixion judiciaire au musée d'Istanbul* (1960) 19 n. 3; J. Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites* (2005) 132ff.).

5–6 κόλλησον εἰς τὸ ψ' ξηρὸν | θόλον τοῦ βαλανίου (l. -νείου: so too in 8). Cf. PGM XXXVI 75 κόλλα εἰς τὸν ξηρὸν θόλον τοῦ βαλανίου.

5 τὸ ψ'. There seems to be some supralinear ink not all belonging to the ψ of γράψον above; otherwise τὸ(ν).

6–10 ἐξ[ο]ρκίζω ... ἵνα ... καῦσον: a blend of the construction ἐξορκίζω ἵνα (see Suppl. Mag. I 19.16 n.) and the imperatival ἵνα-clause (Suppl. Mag. I 45.36 n.; see also A. D. Nock, *PBA* 17 (1931) 268–9).

6 For ἐξορκίζω εε applied to several entities, cf. Suppl. Mag. I 48.4–5 ἐξορκίζω (l. ἐξορ-) εε, πάντας τοὺς δαίμονας τοὺς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ; H. C. Youtie and C. Bonner, *TAPA* 68 (1937) 54 lines 7–9, 55 lines 30–31 (= Youtie, *Scriptiunculae posteriores* ii (1982) 620, 621; cf. Jordan, *SGD* 164) ὀρκίζω εε (magical words) κύριοι ἄγγελοι; SEG XLIX 2383.35–9 ὀρκίζω εε ... πάν[τ]α τὰ ἀρρενικὰ καὶ θηλυκὰ κτλ.; for other examples of incongruity in number in magical texts and the possible reasons, see Suppl. Mag. I 44.10 n.; P. Mich. XVI 757.5–6 n. (pp. 50–51); D. R. Jordan, *Mnemosyne* 56 (2003) 676 (18–20 n.).

6–7 γαῖα καὶ | εἶδατα (l. ὕδατα: for υ > ει, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 272). In all likelihood, γαῖα here is (or is also) Γαῖα, who, as a chthonic divinity, plays a major role in *defixiones*: see E. G. Kagarow, *Griechische Fluchtafeln* (1929) 60–61. ὕδατα too (the bath's waters), being in contact with the chthonic world, are felt as a divine/demonic entity (cf. e.g. Audollent, *DT* 129 A.8–B.11 (from a spring near Arretium, II AD) *hunc | ego apus vos|trum | numen del|mando devo|ueo desacri|fico, uti vos A|qu' a' e ferventes, | siv[e v]os Nimsas | [si]ve quo alio no|mine volis adpe|[l]lari, uti vos eu|m interemates | interficiates* etc.). It is well-known that many *defixiones* come from places like wells, baths, fountains, springs, cisterns, etc., see D. R. Jordan, *Hesperia* 64 (1985) 206–10; M. Martin, 'Monde aquatique et tablette de défixion', *Études Magiques* 1 (2007; http://www.etudesmagiques.info/2007/EG_2007-03.pdf). The apostrophe to γαῖα and ὕδατα together is easily explained by the fact that the water comes from the depths of the earth.

7 τοῦ δαίμονος τοῖ (l. τοῦ) ἐν σοὶ ὄντος: for ου > οι, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 215. Two possibilities: (a) τοῦ δαίμονος is a possessive genitive; (b) (κατὰ) τοῦ δαίμονος (i.e. 'I adjure you ... by the demon'). Note that *κΑΤΑ* could easily have been lost after *υδΑΤΑ*, and cf. 12 ἐξορκίζω εε κατὰ τοῦ Ἰαω. I incline to the second alternative. σοὶ may refer back to εε (6, see above) or specifically to ὕδατα as the home of the demon.

8 τὴν τύχην τούτου τοῦ βαλανίου. Here τύχη means the Genius of the place; see LSJ s.v. IV.1. In PGM VII 506, Preisendanz prints χαίρετε, Τύχη καὶ δαίμων τοῦ τόπου τούτου and translates 'Seid gegrüßt, Tyche, und du Dämon dieses Ortes' (similarly H. Martin Jr. in Betz, *GMPT* 131–2), but our papyrus suggests that τύχη should be taken, like δαίμων, with τοῦ τόπου τούτου.

9 ὁ(ς) σοί, l. ὡς σοί. For ω > ο (again in οὔτος in the next line), see Gignac, *Grammar* i 276–7; for the omission of final -c (or haplography?), *ibid.* 124–5; for υ > οι, *ibid.* 198–9. The object of address here changes, σοί referring to the papyrus sheet (?) fixed to the vapour-bath (4 n.): a result of incomplete

adaptation and combination of formulas?

πυροῖς seems excluded. As far as I can see, the active *πυρόω* is always transitive; we need the passive *πυροῖ* (cf. 5304 ii 38 and PGM XXXVI 81, quoted in the next n.). Apparently, the scribe initially made the same mistake just after: he originally wrote *κεης*, then deleted the *ς* by writing on it the *κ* of the *καί* that follows.

9–10 ὄ(ς) σοὶ (l. ὡς σοὶ) πυροῖς ... | οὖτος (l. οὕτως) καῦσον. Cf. PGM XXXVI 80–82 ὡς ὑμεῖς καίεσθε καὶ πυροῦσθε, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ, ἡ καρδία | τῆς δεῖνα, 340–41 ὡς σοὶ κάη, οὕτως καὶ σοὶ καύσειε τὴν δεῖνα, IV 1540–43 ὡς | ἐγὼ σε κατακάω καὶ δυνατὴ εἶ, | οὕτω ἦς φιλω, τῆς δεῖνα, κατάκαυ|σον τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, ἔκκαυσον ...; SEG XLVII 1291.8–10 (Jordan, NGCT 51; normalized spelling) ὡς σοὶ μέλλεις ἐμπυροῦσθαι καὶ καίεσθαι, φλογίζεσθαι σὺν τοῖς | ἀγίοις ὀνόμασι, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ, ἡ καρδία, ὁ νοῦς, τὰ σπλάγχνα, | ἡ δύναμις Ἐρμῖα ... φλογισθῆ πυρετοῖς ἀγρίοις, also 29–31 (quoted below, 15 n.), 33–4. Well-known literary antecedents of this sort of performative analogy are Theocr. 2.28–9 and Verg. *Ecl.* 8.80. For the *similia similibus* pattern in general, see Suppl. Mag. II 56.1–3 n.; R. Kotansky, *GMusf* II (1983) 174–5; C. A. Faraone in *Magika Hiera* 5–10. For torturing victims with fire, see 5304 ii 8 n.

10 ὄν, l. ἦν: confusion of gender (cf. 5309 3). For similar cases, see Suppl. Mag. I 37 A.11 n.; cf. also PGM XVI 31, 59 (see D. R. Jordan, *ZPE* 74 (1988) 236, 239), and SEG LII 1875.24, 28.

ἔτηκεν, l. ἔτεκεν (for unaccented *ε* > *η*, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 244–5; cf. PGM LXI 10, 14, 28 (see app.); SEG XLVI 1382 V.6–7, LXI 1384 B.9 ἔτηκεν, A.8, 27–8 ἤτηκεν; Audolent, *DT* 249 A.6, 7 (= Tremel, *MA* 95) ἔθηκεν). Scribe 1 is inconsistent in the spelling of this word (ἔτεκεν ii 16–17, 17; ἔτηκεν ii 10, 11), whereas scribe 2 is consistent in writing ἔτηκεν (iii 11, 12, 19, and probably 20). D. R. Jordan, *ZPE* III (1996) 119, explained a similar inconsistency in a curse tablet from Carthage as possibly due to careless resolution of abbreviations of the phrase δεῖνα ἦν (or ὄν) ἔτεκεν ἢ δεῖνα such as Δ ἦν (or ὄν) ἢ Δ, Δ ἢ Δ, Δ Δ in the model.

ἔτηκεν δεῖνα): for omission of the article before δεῖνα, cf. PGM VII 987, LXXVIII 6.

12 ὄτ'ι' was added at the beginning. The scribe had underestimated the space required and was obliged to insert *ι* above the line.

12–13 Ἰαω Καβαοθ | Οδοῦναι (l. Αδωναι). A fairly frequent sequence in our literature, see PGM vol. III (Register) 213; *Lamella Bernensis* 81.

12 Καβαοθ. Originally the scribe wrote Καβαωθ (the usual form, cf. below, iii 7 n.); then, curiously enough, he changed *ω* to *ο* by joining the tops of the sides of *ω* with an arc. Cf. Suppl. Mag. I 25.7 Καβαοστ; possibly PGM XLVII 15 Καβα[ό]θ.

13 Παγουρη Ζαγουρη. For this pair of magical words, see now Faraone (i 7–14 n.) 19–20. Usually the words occur in the other order, but see PGM XXXVI 350 (with Faraone 20 n. 56).

13–15 For this assonant sequence of magical words, in which the articulation is largely hypothetical, cf. LXVIII 4672 9–10 ατρακ[. . .]τατρακα in an invocation to Hecate; PGM IV 1416 συνατρακαβι in a similar context. ατρακεως (14) resembles CIIP II 1679.3 ατραχεωε, while αταραξ (14) recalls the demon Κατράξ (v.l. ἰατράξ, ἀτράξ) in *Test. Sal.* 20 (55*.2 McCown). For the second half of 14 κατοστραβαρα], cf. PGM IV 202 τραναρα.

13 α . . . τρακα: first trace, a circle: *ο* or the loop of *ρ*; second, smudged ink obscuring part of the letter and then a short vertical: *η*?

15 ἅγι[α] ὀνόματα. For direct invocation of 'holy name(s)', cf. PGM VII 388, XII 134 τὰ ἅγια τοῦ θεοῦ ὀνόματα, ἐπακούσατέ μου, Suppl. Mag. I 45.52–3 (normalized spelling) τὰ ἅγια ὀνόματα ταῦτα καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις | αὐτὰ ἐπισχυρίσατε καὶ τελεῖτε τελείαν τὴν ἐπαοιδὴν; SEG XLVI 2246.37–40, XLVII 1291.29–31 (normalized spelling) τὰ ἅγια καὶ ἰσχυρὰ ὀνόματα τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ Τυφῶνος, ὡς περ ἐν τῇ | πυρᾷ ταύτῃ πυροῦσθε ... Ἐρμῖαν τὸν υἱὸν Πιθιάδος | τὸν δεινὸν καὶ ἄνομον καύσατε, πυρώσατε, φλέξατε;

Audollent, *DT* 187.54–5 (= Tremel, *MA* 89); Kotansky, *GMA* 52.109–10, 58.11–12 with n.; also Bonner, *SMA* 95 (see A. Mastrocinque, *ZPE* 122 (1998) 105–9), 215 with D 317. For similar invocations of *charactères*, see Suppl. Mag. I 21.10–12 n.; D. R. Jordan and R. D. Kotansky, *RA* 1996, 165.

16 κ[αίε]τε ἀρδ' α. After κ[αίε]τε (κ[αύκα]τε would be too long), we expect τῆν καρδ' α(ν): for omission of -ν, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 111–12, and for the phrase, cf. e.g. PGM VII 990, XVI 4–5, 70, XXXIIa 3, 7–8. But the traces are difficult: a high trace on the edge; another high trace, perhaps belonging to the next letter; an upright; close to it, another upright, with a crossbar emerging on the right near the top; an upright on the edge, shown on the archive photograph but now missing; probably belonging to the same letter, a short low horizontal stroke joining α on the left.

16–17 ε|τεκ(εν): κ is raised with an extended lower branch. Cf. ε̄τεκ(εν) with a supralinear bar marking the abbreviation in the magical P. Duk. inv. 729.22–3 (ed. D. R. Jordan, *GRBS* 46 (2006) 159–73). The word is abbreviated ετ'κ' in PGM VII 987.

18–20 On the Typhonic *logos*, typical of malign magic, see Moraux (5 n.) 19–39; Suppl. Mag. II 95 → 8–12 n. The intrusion into it of the *vox magica* [. . .]νεβερων (cf. PGM XIXa 4 διαρ νεβερ χειει) is unparalleled. To the list of examples of this *logos* given by R. Martín Hernández and S. Torallas Tovar, *ZPE* 189 (2014) 175–84, one may add LXV 4468 verso ii 16–18; P. Berol. 17202.27 (ed. W. M. Brashear and R. D. Kotansky in P. Mirecki and M. Meyer (edd.), *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World* (2002) 3–24); P. Coles 12 ↓ 4–8; P. Laur. inv. PL 54.7–10 (ed. R. Pintaudi, *ZPE* 26 (1977) 245–8); Audollent, *DT* 251 i 8–10 (= Tremel, *MA* 97); SEG XLIX 2382.15–18 (cf. Jordan, NGCT 94); Youtie and Bonner (6 n.) 54 lines 7–9, 55 lines 30–31 (= Youtie, *Script. post.* ii 620, 621).

20 ἰχθυόος of Seth-Typhon also in PGM XII 374 and SEG XLVII 1291.29 (see above, 15 n.).

21 ὁ κρατερός Τυφῶν. A typical epithet of Seth is κραταιός, cf. PGM IV 179 κραταιέ Τυφῶν, III 87 κρ[α]ταιέ C[η]θ Τυφῶν, and the *defixiones* from the Athenian agora SEG XXXV 213–22, 225–7 (III AD; see the ed. pr. by D. R. Jordan, *Hesperia* 54 (1985) 245 for a synopsis of the occurrences). Jordan, loc. cit., rightly observes that the qualification of Typhon as 'mighty' may reproduce the standing Egyptian epithet of Seth, 𓆎 *phḥj*, 'great in power' (see H. te Velde in *LdÄ* V (1984) 909 s.v. Seth). For Seth-Typhon in the magical texts, see T. Hopfner, *AO* 3 (1931) 131–7; in general, cf. H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (1967), with updated bibliography in D. B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (2001) iii 269a–271a. Conversely, for Seth as a protective god, see 5310. See also 5303 7 with n.

Τυφῶν . . .] . . . ε̄ ἄκουσον: the traces are an apparent upper arc and the top of a vertical. To fill the lacuna, possibly Cηθ (cf. PGM XIV 20 T[υ]φῶν Cηθ and Audollent, *DT* 163.48; also Suppl. Mag. II 95 → 12–13); and then εἰσάκουσον (cf. PGM IV 2290–91 where absolute ἄκουσον is followed, as here, by magical words; for absolute εἰσάκουσον, cf. LXX *Is.* 7.17, Thd. *Dan.* 9.19). Alternatively, . . .] . . . ε̄ may hide a third nominative phrase introduced by the article.

ἰω[probably begins a new series of *voces magicae*: see next n.

22 αβρα . . . ρηλι . . .]: at the beginning, a horizontal joining α at mid-level; after the second α, the lower left-hand corner of a round letter or the loop of a cursive κ; before the gap, a dot of ink below the line. The sequence, or at least the first part of it, looks like a magical word. χαβραχ however cannot be read, perhaps χαβρακ. Or should we recognize βρακ, a Typhonic word? Or an angelic name ending in -ηλ? With ηλι . . .], however, significant Greek might begin ('Ηλιε?').

]αρκοιπ[: γ]άρ κοι π[?

23 [. . .]αγη[: among many possibilities, ε̄|]β[ἄγη[ε μοι (PGM XXXIX 20; cf. iv 14).

Col. iii

1–3 In the magical papyri, a ποτήριον is employed in a divination charm (PGM IV 3247), a charm

for 'direct vision' (V 64), and several love charms (VII 385, 622, 643, XXXVI 135), and the present charm is probably also erotic in nature: a drinking-cup spell. Other such charms are VII 969–72, XIII 319–20, and P. Duk. inv. 729.1–12 (ii 16–17 n.); see D. F. Moke, *Eroticism in the Greek Magical Papyri* (Diss. Minnesota 1975) 286–8; Faraone, *Love Magic* 26. The contents of the cup were presumably to be given to the victim to drink (cf. PGM XIII 320, P. Duk. inv. 729.11).

1 ἐπιλο[γος]. Here 'charm, incantation, magic spell': cf. Lampe s.v., and s.v. ἐπιλέγω 2, LSJ s.v. ἐπιλέγω I.4; also the synonymous and similarly formed ἐπωδή and ἐπιλαλιά, ἐπιλάλημα (PGM VII 290, 296).

{ἐπιλογος}. A simple dittography, or a corruption (influenced by the preceding ἐπιλο[γος]) of ἐπιλεγόμενος? Cf. the very frequent nexus (δ) λόγος (δ) λεγόμενος (PGM IV 234 λ. ἐπὶ τοῦ κκεύους, 286, 857, 1228, VII 232, 643 λόγον λεγόμενον εἰς τὸ ποτήριον λέγε ζ', X 9, etc.). Cf. also SEG LII 1877 bis.1–2 οὐτος ὁ λ(όγος) | {λόγος} (?) with D. Jordan's remarks in A. Mastrocinque (ed.), *Gemme gnostiche e cultura ellenistica* (2002) 63–4.

εἰς ποτή[ριον]. For magical formulae uttered over drinking-cups to enchant their contents, cf. PGM VII 385 ἐ[π]ὶ ποτηρίου λέγε ζ', 622–3 ἐπὶ δὲ ἐπὶ πο[τ]ήρια εἴπης καὶ δώσης | γυναικί, φιλήσει σε, 643 (quoted in the previous n.), IV 3251–3.

2 Ἰαβαθ. Cf. PGM IV 1626, and see Brashear, 'Greek Magical Papyri' 3587; Betz, *GMPT* 335 s.v. Iabas.

βιχ. See P. Coles 12 ↓ 8 n.

θουραθ[; cf. PGM XIXa 11 θουρα, 6 θουρι, VII 356 βιθουραα.

3 βιβ βι . . . : cf. Suppl. Mag. I 48.45 βιβιβε βιβιουθ (see P. Mich. 757.45 n.).

λέγε ζ'. See 5304 ii 31 n.

4 χαριτήσιον. On this kind of charm, see 4468 verso i 1–17, 16 nn. A list of χαριτήσια is given in Brashear, 'Greek Magical Papyri' 3502; add Suppl. Mag. II 63, 64 (= Kotansky, *GMA* 60), P. Kramer 2, and 5312. For a Coptic χαριτήσιον and reference to Coptic and Demotic parallels, see J. van der Vliet, *ZPE* 153 (2005) 131–40.

χάρ[την καθα]ρόν. The papyrus must be clean and blank, a very frequent direction, cf. PGM III 18, IV 78, VII 193, 219, 703, 940, XXXVI 72, 102, XXXVIII 2, and see P. Oslo I 1.71 n.

5 ἐπίγραφε δέ. For δέ after a participial clause (analogous to apodotic δέ), see Denniston, *Greek Particles*² 181–2.

ζμυρνομέλανι{ν}: for the erroneous addition of -ν, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 112–14; for the spelling ζμ-, see 5304 ii 30 n. Myrrh ink is frequently prescribed in magical handbooks, see LiDonnici (i 3 n.) 66–7.

6 [φόρ]ι, I. φόρει. The verb was almost certainly φορέω, but the lacuna will not hold four letters.

π[ερί] τὸν τράχηλον. Cf. PGM I 69, 148, IV 1084, 1826–7, 2704, VII 232, 488, VIII 68, P. Philammon p. 22.7, Suppl. Mag. II 80.2; also PGM VII 207 (περίαψον εἰς τ. τ.), P. Carlsberg inv. 35.5 καὶ φορεῖς τραχήλω) (ed. Brashear, *Magica Varia* 40) with the editor's note (p. 55); S. Giannobile in R. Marino et al. (edd.), *Poveri ammalati e ammalati poveri* (2006), 337–8 n. 8.

εἰς δέ. The subject is the words that follow (from λελα to the end of 12), to be written on the papyrus (4). Cf. PGM VII 926–9 for a less compressed version: γράψον . . . τὰ ὑποκείμενα ὀνόματα καὶ τοὺς χαρακτήρας . . . εἰς δέ (voces magicae and caractères follow). Cf. also PGM VII 859, 925; P. Duk. inv. 729.30 (ii 16–17 n.) ἔστι [δ]έ.

λελα: perhaps for Λαιλαμ (cf. Audollent, *DT* 241.2 λλελαμ (= Tremel, *MA* 60); Delatte–Derchain, *Intailles* 51–2 no. 44 λελαμ; SEG LV 1896 B.1 Αελαμ), on which see 5308 6 n.

7 ε . ω: perhaps ε Ιαω, with a narrow a.

Caβαωθ. See e.g. Michel, *MGBM* i 375–6; Mastrocinque (i 16–17 n.) 104.

Αβλαναθαναλθα. The most frequent magical palindrome, see Brashear, 'Greek Magical Papyri' 3577; Michel, *MGBM* i 372; Faraone (i 7–14 n.) 32–3.

8 [A]ββ[α]αξ: again at iv 17. See e.g. Betz, *GMPT* 331; Brashear, 'Greek Magical Papyri' 3577; Michel, *MGBM* i 372; Mastrocinque (i 16–17 n.) 100.

βεραc: cf. Delatte, *AA* 132.4 Βέρα.

αργαξ. Cf. the angel name Αραγά in PGM XIII 454; Delatte, *AA* 496.13, 609.17.

caμ: on a possible interpretation, see Michel, *MGBM* i 32–3 no. 50.

9–10. For the seven vowels, each written seven times, cf. e.g. Suppl. Mag. I 43.4–5 (there in alphabetical order); also the Coptic ritual mentioned in D. Frankfurter, *Helios* 21 (1994) 200 and n. 73. The α-sequence was written twice, presumably by mistake; the η-sequence is missing.

10 δός μοι χάριν. A common request in *χαριτήσια* and the like, see Kotansky, *GMA* 58.12–13 n.; add 5312 25, P. Kramer 2.6–7, P. Philammon p. 23.19; for gems, see C. A. Faraone, *GRBS* 53 (2013) 334 with n. 19; SB XXVIII 16921(34).7–8. χάρις, 'favour', 'grace', is the characteristic word of charms of this kind, see C. A. Faraone, *Phoenix* 44 (1990) 224–7. For the various meanings of χάρις in the magical papyri, see A. D. Nock, *PBA* 17 (1931) 259–60.

11 πρός: only vestigial traces remain, but they suit the reading. For this frequent use of πρός ('against', 'before') in victory or charm amulets, cf. PGM III 579–80, XII 69, XXIIa 21, XXXVI 46, 225, P 21.20–21, Suppl. Mag. II 63.15–16, P. Kramer 2.8 (supplied), P. Philammon p. 23.20; in gems: see Faraone (10 n.) 333 with n. 17.

ἔως ἔλθῃ. The ἔως (ἄν) ἔλθῃ formula (typical of ἀγωγαί, cf. ii 11, 17) is unusual in *χαριτήσια*.

11–12 ἔως ἔλθῃ | λ[] η με ἢ τὸν δεῖνα. At the beginning of 12, just scattered ink; after the gap, perhaps the upper arc of a round letter. Usually ἔως ἔλθῃ is immediately followed by πρός (ἐμέ) τὸν δεῖνα (cf. ii 11, 17), but this is certainly not the case here. Sometimes, however, it is followed by a participle, as in PGM XXXVI 82 ἔως ἄν ἔλθῃ φιλοῦσα ἐμέ τὸν δεῖνα. The verb φιλέω might be promising, though not the participle, which would not fit the space. Perhaps καὶ φιλ[ή]σῃ? If so, what follows could be taken as με (ἢ τὸν δεῖνα), i.e. a choice between two variants, cf. PGM IV 1673–6 δὸς ἐπαφροδιείαν τῷ δακτυλίῳ τούτῳ (ἢ τῷ φυλακτηρίῳ τούτῳ ἢ τῇ γλυφῇ ταύτῃ). But it is strange that such an obvious choice is given, especially as the standard formula is ἐμέ τὸν δεῖνα. Alternatively, {η}. It does not help to assume that ημε is written for ἐμέ.

13–20 A love charm.

13 [] . . . ν: a horizontal at mid-level; an upright; low traces; a horizontal at letter-top level; probably ε; after the gap, two traces on the line. This is certainly a description of the charm given as a title, but what? *χαριτήσιον* fits the space, but not the traces, as it seems, while ἀνώγειμον, ποτήριον, and φίλτρον are too short. Then the nexus with the following εἰς γυνέκας (l. γυναῖκας) is unidiomatic and ambiguous: is εἰς here used with the same meaning as πρός (see above, 11 n.)? Or should we understand 'intended for women', i.e. to be used by women?

14 κ[] []: before the gap, a round base (β, ε, θ, ο, c). We need the name of a vessel; κιβ[άριον] (cf. PGM IV 1110) would suit (although perhaps a little short for the space; written, as frequently, κιβούριον?).

κενόν, l. καινόν: 'new', not 'empty'; see Suppl. Mag. II 97 ↓ 25 n.

πλήρον ὕδατος. Cf. PGM IV 3210–11 λαβῶν φιάλην λευκὴν πλήρον ὕδατος | καὶ ἐλαίου, LXII 48–9; 5303 14–15 with nn.

15 καὶ ἐπὸν (l. εἰπὸν) τὸν λόγον: for εἰ > ε, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 257–9, and for ω > ο, *ibid.* 276–7. For the phrase, cf. PGM III 386–7, VII 526.

πρόσχυε. (-)χύω is an uncommon by-form of (-)χέω, cf. P. Mich. V 326.51 (48) ἐκχύνετε; Gignac, *Grammar* ii 276.

15–16 παρά τὸν | τροφέα. The doorpost plays a role in two other erotic charms, PGM XIII 241 (διάκοπος; separation between a man and a woman is obtained by putting dog faeces in the post-hole of their door) and XXXVI 136 (ἀγωγή; the contents of a drinking-cup are put (i.e. poured, as in our charm) into the socket of the spellcaster's door). S. Eitrem (P. Oslo I 1.136 n.) suggests that the pivot in the socket calls up 'the idea of a phallus in the cunnus'.

16 τῆς θύρας. The door of the practitioner (as in the aforementioned PGM XXXVI 136–7 βαλὼν εἰς τὸν τροφέαν σου τῆς | θύρας) rather than the victim: his house is the place to which the woman is to be drawn.

16–17 κράτι επεὶ ν' φον | ἄρσ' . . . ον. The first trace is indecipherable; the second may represent ο; then there is a horizontal stroke at letter-top level, as of γ or τ. A difficult passage. Cf. however the direct vision spell PGM IV 930–1114: the operator has to pronounce the *logos* clasping the number 3663 to his breast: 937–8 κρατῶν ψῆφον γχξγ ἐπὶ μα|ρθού; cf. also 1047–8 κατέχων τὴν | ψῆφον λέγε, 1057–8 ἀπόλυσον τὴν ψῆφον, | ἦν κρατεῖς. (3663 is the isopsephic value of the magical name Βαινχωωωχ, see e.g. W. Brashear, *ZPE* 78 (1989) 123–4.) κρατι here may then represent κράτει 'hold', and the strange επεὶ ν' φον is probably at least in part a corruption of ψῆφον, although it is not clear how initial ψη became επε (rather the remains of a phrase parallel to ἐπὶ μαρθού; in the PGM IV spell?), nor what the scribe had in mind when he added ν. I cannot find the number 996 elsewhere, and any role that it may have played in mysticism and magic is unknown to me. It does not seem to be the gematrical equivalent of the following magical name(s). As for the unread word, it is hard to avoid λόγον. The accusative, however, would be inexplicable: a mistake for λόγος (for -c > -v, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 132)? Cf. PGM IV 937–8 for the structure: κρατῶν ψῆφον γχξγ ἐπὶ μα|ρθού; καὶ οὕτως κάλει, λόγος. To conclude, the original text of the passage was perhaps . . . τῆς θύρας: κράτει ψῆφον | ἄρσ'. λόγος: χαχαχαχαχα κτλ. ψῆφος refers to an object (a scrap of papyrus?) on which the number (or perhaps the unknown corresponding name?) is written (LSJ s.v. II.1.b).

17 χαχαχαχαχα. Cf. esp. PGM XIII 87 = 600 where χαχαχαχαχαχα is how the creator god is called on 'in hieratic'; repetition of the syllable χα also in I 139, 146–7, II 120, IV 240, 1385, VII 487, XIXa 44, XXXVI 366, P. Monis. Roca IV 61, and the Greek-Aramaic amulet tablet from Tell el-Amarna SEG XLII 1582.31.

φορορφρω. See S. Gaffino, *ZPE* 140 (2002) 192 (21 n.).

19 . . .]ελ[. . .]ην. We expect an infinitive governing ἐμέ, possibly preceded by a participle agreeing with τὴν δ(εῖνα) (cf. PGM VII 465 ποιήσατε τ. δ. φιλεῖν ἐμέ, XXXVI 147–8 ποιήσατε τ. δ. . . πεινώσαν, διψῶσαν . . . ἐράσθαι ἐμοῦ τ. δ., Suppl. Mag. I 39.11–12 ποιήσον Ἀπλωνοῦν, ἦν ἔτεκεν Ἀρσινόη, | φιλεῖν με, ἐμέ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον), but I cannot get this (or anything else) from the remains.

20 λέ]γε δέ. Cf. PGM I 94, III 287, IV 1594, VII 339, LXXII 14.

αρια. Cf. PGM IV 2058 αριαντα, 2410 αριαω.

Col. iv

1–19 Love charm. As there are no paragraphi, the preserved lines probably all belong to the same recipe (but cf. ii 3, where the paragraphus is not used). The structure of the charm is unclear from what little remains, but lines 1–3, 5 (?), 7–9 seem to pertain to the *praxis*, 4, 6, 10–18 to the *logos* (which was probably to be written rather than uttered, cf. 3, 7).

1 φίλτρον as rubric of a spell occurs also in PGM VII 405, 459, 462, 661, XIII 319, LXI 1, P. Philammon p. 9.22. Against Faraone, *Love Magic* 29, who puts the φίλτρα into the category of spells aiming

to induce affection and esteem, *φιλία* rather than *ἔρωσ*, see M. W. Dickie, *CQ* 50 (2000) 582–3.

επ. [: at the end, a minimal trace at mid-level. ἐπα[ι]νετόν, as in PGM LXI 1 φίλτρον ἐπαυ[ετόν]?

2 εβαλλομ[: at the start, the top of an upright followed by a mid-level oblique descending from left to right (κ? ν?). Perhaps the end of an imperative followed by a participle (βαλλομ[εν-]).

3 γράφε`τε (l. γράφεται) δέ. A direction in present passive form, cf. PGM XIII 897, also II 170, IV 2100, V 358. The scribe first wrote the usual second person singular imperative, irreproachable in itself. The addition (imperfectly executed, -τε for -ται) is no doubt due to a wish to reproduce the model.

κα[ι] κα[ι]ω[ω] καλάμω (cf. PGM XXXVI 266–7)?

4 00000 ιιι ηηη ε[ι]: 3–4 apparently gave the seven vowels in reverse order and in diminishing numbers (from seven to one); cf. i 7–14 with η.

5 μοαι [: at the end, a short high horizontal trace, with surface damage below. α is secure, but I do not know how to treat this sequence. A copying mistake (A > Α) for μόλιβ[ον] μολιβ[οῦν] (πέταλον, πλάτυμμα)?

6 Αμω`θ: another of the many magical names carrying the Hebrew suffixal ending -*ōth*. Cf. PGM XII 166 Αρμωθ (see vol. III (Register) 236); Delatte, *AA* 431.15 Αμώθ; Michel, *MGBM* i 300–301 no. 491 αμωθ. The following βθκ. [is a strange consonantal cluster (perhaps alphabetic ‘characters’?).

7 είερατικόν, l. iερ-. Before, perhaps something like λαβών (or εἰς) χάρτην (or χαρτίον, κόλλημα, πιττάκιον, etc.).

ρ[ι]. Before ρ, apparently the top of a stroke descending from left to right; a form of γράφω seems excluded.

8 πτερρο[, l. πτερο[(for gemination of ρ, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 157). A form of πτερόν, or a compound, e.g. πτεροφυής (PGM II 113, XII 45), πτεροειδής (XII 89).

9 τάδε γ[: τάδε γ[ρά]φε, as in PGM III 178?

10 ειβι κατ[ι]. Magical word(s)? Cf. ειβι in *Suppl. Mag.* I 6.5.

11 μενω[: a form of μένω? Or the ending of a participle?

12 εὐ ἐκθέ[ω]σον. Cf. PGM IV 2455–8 λαβών μυγαλόν | ἐκθέωσον πηγαίω ὕδατι καὶ λαβών καν|θάρουσιν σεληνιακοῦσιν δύο ἐκθέωσον ὕδα|τι ποταμίω. For the synonymous ἀποθεώω, cf. PGM I 5, 6 (supplemented), VII 629; LSJ s.v. 2. For magical deification by drowning, see Betz, *GMPT* 3 n. 3.

14 ἄξις μο[ι]. Probably ἵνα | ἄξις μο[ι] τὴν δ(εῖνα) or αὐτήν, cf. PGM IV 400, 1509–10.

16 τῶ φοβ[ε]ρῶ σου ὀνόματι? The final trace, a spot at mid-line level on the edge, could suit ε.

17 Αβραα[ξ]. See above, iii 8 n.

18 Vowels in threes (PGM IV 493, XIXa 27, XXXVI 368) or in increasing numbers (PGM XIII 856–7, 858–9, 861–2, 863–4, etc.).

F. MALTOMINI

5306–7. CHRISTIAN AMULETS

One semi-cursive hand, assigned by Grenfell and Hunt to the fourth century, is responsible for three Christian amulets, each made for a different person, VI 924, 5306, and 5307. 924 and 5307 are very similar, and correspond, with some slight differences, to the final lines (33–47) of the large 5306. The commentary on 5307 is limited to points where it differs from 5306. The new material makes it possible to offer some improvements in 924: for a new text, see *Galenos* 9 (2015) 229–34.

The three papyri yield valuable evidence for the activity of a magician who apparently catered for a large clientele in fourth-century Oxyrhynchus. The fact that the parallel parts of the amulets do not match exactly, although written by the same practitioner and for similar purposes, provides a further demonstration of the great fluidity of the process of copying magical recipes and producing applied charms: cf. e.g. G. Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (2008) 147.

For a list of Greek amulets from Egypt containing Christian elements, see T. S. de Bruyn and J. H. F. Dijkstra, *BASP* 48 (2011) 163-216. Cf. also 5309, 5311, and 5313-14 below.

5306. AMULET FOR EULOGIA

104/3(a)

8 x 16.5 cm

Fourth century
Plate III

A single sheet, complete on all sides, gives along the fibres an amulet for a certain Eulogia; the back is blank. The text begins 1.9 cm from the top and stops 3 cm short of the foot. The sheet was folded six times vertically; there is a horizontal fold in the middle and there may have been others elsewhere.

The amulet falls into two parts, each of which appears to be the result of a somewhat careless combination of different, non-contiguous sections of magical handbooks. This procedure causes some illogicality and syntactic peculiarities: cf. 4, 30-31, 40-41 nn. At the start, unspecified entities are asked to protect Eulogia from any kind of fever and other types of harm and evil (1-4). Next, there is an adjuration of a demon by a number of divine powers (4-11), and then a new request for protection and salvation (11-15). An indented title (16) introduces the second part, the beginning of which is very problematic (17-23). Next, we have a new adjuration (23-30) and, again, a request for protection similar to those above (30-42). The amulet ends with a section containing an 'acclamation', a trinitarian formula, a cross with $A-\Omega$, the seven vowels and the *vox magica* Abrasax, symmetrically arranged (43-7). Five heavy blobs are added around the cross: see 44-7 n. The whole text is framed by right angles drawn at the top right, lower left, and lower right corners, and a horizontal stroke at the foot half way across.

No lectional signs are present except diacresis on initial *i* and *v*. Nomina sacra are abbreviated in the normal way. There are numerous spelling mistakes.

ἵνα συνφυλάξῃται καὶ συντηρήσῃται Εὐλογία
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥιγοπυρετίου, φρίκος τριτέου καὶ τεταρτέου,
 καθημ[ε]ρινοῦ, ἡμιτριτέου, δικρότου, λυμικῆς ἐφό-
 δου, μα[νί]ας, σπάσματος πονηροῦ, ὅτι ἐξορκίζω σε
 5 κατὰ τῶ[ν] ἀγίων ἀρχαγγέλων τῆς μεγάλης δυ-
 νάμεως τοῦ κ(υρίου)υ ἡμῶν θε(ο)ῦ παντοκράτορος
 Γαβριηλ, ἅγιος Μιχαηλ, ἅγιος Ραφαηλ, ἅγιος

- 78 Κουριηλ, ἅγιος Φαμαηλ, ἅγιος Εμμανουηλ,
 τὸ ἱερὸν πνεῦμα Ἰησοῦ Χρ(ι)στοῦ καὶ τοὺς διά-
 10 κονας τῆς προσε[υ]χῆς Ιαηλ, Ασαηλ, Ουριηλ, Δαμαηλ,
 καὶ τὸν μέγαν [C]εσενκεν Βραφαραγγης. ἐλεήσα-
 τε καὶ σώσατε Εὐλογίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τριτέου φρίκος
 καὶ τεταρτέου φρίκος καὶ τὸ λεπτοριγοπυρ[έτι]ν-
 νον καὶ ἀπὸ πάντος πιαραμοῦ καὶ πάσης ὀδ[ύν]ης
 15 καὶ πάσης λύπη[ς] καὶ βασάνων.
 προσευχή Ἀδ[ά]μου. φυλακτήριον.
 ταῦτα τῶν ὀνομ[ά]των οὐ . . . α μικροῖς δέμοσι χ . . . [. . .]
 καὶ ἐξόρκισεν αὐτ[ο]ὺς ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς καὶ ἔγραψεν αὐ-
 τοὺς δι' ἀποστόλ[ο]υς τοὺς ἐν τῇ σφραγίδι τοῦ Ἀδάμ[]. ἔ-
 20 καστος αὐτῶν . [.] . . . σιν σφραγίδα τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶν-
 τος καὶ ἐσφραγισμένοι ἐπάνω σημίον καὶ ἔχ[ο]ν-
 σιν φάρμακα ἵνα μὴ ἐγγίζουσιν εἰς ὄλων ἐπαγ-
 εστηκότες. εἴτε ἄρσεν εἴτε θῆλυ εἴτε πνεῦμα δαιμ[ο]-
 νί[ο]υ χ[α]λεπώτερον, ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ ἐ-
 25 π[άν]ω [.] . [. . .] . [.] αθι . ι, Σιαβραθιαω· ἐξορκίζω
 ὑ[μᾶς] κατὰ τοῦ ἐπάνω Χαρχαακ, Σαβαωθ·
 ἐξ[ορκίζω] ὑμᾶς κ[ατὰ] τοῦ ἐπάνω Σαβαωθ·
 ἐξ[ορκίζω] ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ Ἰαω· ἐξορκίζω ὑ-
 μ[ᾶς] κατὰ τοῦ Ἐλωαι· ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ
 30 τοῦ ἐπάνω Ἐλω[α]ι, Ἰαβωκ ανουν ουηρ. διατη-
 ρή[σατε] τὸν πη[.] . . . τ. Εὐλογίας ἀπὸ τ[οῦ]
 τριτέου φρίκος[ος] καὶ τεταρτέου φρίκος καὶ
 τὸ λεπτοριγ[οπ]υρέτινον. ἵνα συνφυλάξῃται
 καὶ συντηρήσῃται Εὐλογίας ἀπὸ τοῦ τρι-
 35 τέου φρίκος καὶ τεταρτέου φρίκος καὶ τὸ λε-
 πτοριγοπυρέτινον καὶ μὴ ἀφήται τὸ τρι-
 τέον φρίκος καὶ τεταρτέον φρίκος καὶ τὸ λε-
 πτοριγοπυρέτ[ι]νον ἐγγίζω εἰς Εὐλογίας εἰσόλωσ,
 κατὰ τὴν πίστ[ι]ν αὐτῆς, ὅτι δούλη ἐστὶν τοῦ θεοῦ
 40 τοῦ ζῶντος καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων
 αὐτοῦ ἵω νιπαλαμνεωθ, ἵνα τὸ ὄνομά σου {η} διὰ
 παντὸς ἧ δεδοξασμένον. / / /

			•	δύναμις			
	Ι(ησο)ῡ	α	πατ[η]ρ	ῡι	ός	μήτηρ	Χ(ριστο)ῡ
45		ε		•	ω	•	ο
		η	πν[(ε)ῡ(μ)α]	•	α	•	υ
		ι	Αβρα	•	αγιος	•	ω
				•	caξ	•	

I, 33, 41 ἵνα	I, 33 l. <i>συμφυλάξητε</i>	I, 34 l. <i>συντηρήσητε</i>	I, 34, 38 l. <i>Εὐλογία</i>
2, 12, 13, 32 (<i>bis</i>), 35 (<i>bis</i>) l. <i>φρίκουσ</i>	2, 12, 32, 34-5 l. <i>τριταίου</i>	2, 13, 32, 35 l. <i>τεταρταίου</i>	
3 l. ἡμυτριταίου, λοιμικῆς	6 <i>κν</i>	6, 20, 39 <i>θν</i>	13-14, 33, 35-6 l. τοῦ λεπτοριγοπυρετίου
14 l. <i>πειρασμοῦ</i>	17 l. <i>δαίμοσι</i>	18 <i>ἐξόρκισεν</i> (l. <i>ἐξώρκισεν</i>) ... ἔγραψεν; rather ἔγραψεν	
... ἐξώρκισεν? (see 18-23 n.)	21 l. <i>σημείω</i> (see comm.)	22 l. ἐγγίξωσιν, εἰς ὄλον? (see comm.)	
23 <i>πνα</i>	28, 29 <i>ῡ-</i>	36 l. <i>ἀφήτε</i>	36-7 l. <i>τριταῖον</i>
37-8 l. <i>λεπτοριγοπυρετίον</i>	38 l. <i>ἐγγίξω</i>	44 <i>ω, χν</i>	46 l. <i>ἄγιον</i>

'Guard and protect Eulogia from the fever with shivering, from chill tertian and quartan, quotidian, semitertian, with double beat, from plague attack, madness (?), evil convulsion, for I adjure you by the saint archangels of the great power of our Lord almighty God: <saint> Gabriël, saint Michaël, saint Raphaël, saint Souriël, saint Phamaël, saint Emmanuël, by the holy spirit of Jesus Christ and by the ministers of the prayer: Iaël, Asaël, Uriël, Damaël, and by the great Sesenken Brapharaggês. Pity and save Eulogia from the tertian chill and quartan chill and the slight fever with shivering and from every temptation and every pain and every ache and torments.

Prayer of Adam. Protective charm. These of the names ... small (?) demons ... and he enrolled them in the lists and adjured them by the apostles, them who were in the seal of Adam. Each of them has a seal of the living God, and, sealed on top by the sign (of the cross), they have remedies so that (the demons) do not draw near, not at all, having rebelled. Whether male or female or very cruel spirit of demon, I adjure you by the one above ..., Siabrathiaô; I adjure you by the one above Charchaak, Sabaôth; I adjure you by the one above Sabaôth; I adjure you by Iaô; I adjure you by Elôai; I adjure you by the one above Elôai, Iabôk *anoun ouër*. Protect ... Eulogia from the tertian chill and quartan chill and the slight fever with shivering. Guard and protect Eulogia from the tertian chill and quartan chill and the slight fever with shivering and do not allow the tertian chill and quartan chill and the slight fever with shivering to draw near to Eulogia, not at all, in accordance with her faith, because she is a servant of the living God and of (?) his saint angels, *id nipalamneôth*, in order that your name may be glorified forever (three obliques).

'Power of Jesus Christ! Father, Son, Mother, Holy Spirit. A-Ω. Abrasax. a e ê i o u ô.'

I ἵνα. On imperatival ἵνα, see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae posteriores* i (1981) 349, 478; BDAG s.v. 2g; G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* v (1989) 57.

συμφυλάξηται (l. *συμφυλάξητε*) καὶ *συντηρήσηται* (l. *-τε*). *συμφυλάξω* is quite rare and does not appear to be attested elsewhere in magical texts. Perhaps the use of this form is due to assimilation to the following *συντηρήσηται*, the original having used instead the regular *διαφυλάξω*, cf. for the combination SEG XLI 863.9 *διαφύλαξον καὶ συντήρικον*, XXVI 1784.2-3 *συντήρησο[ν] καὶ | διαφύλαξαι*. For *συντηρέω*, cf. PGM IV 1062-3 *συντηρήσας με | ὑγιή, ἀσυνῆ κτλ.*, 3123-4; G. Bevilacqua and S. Giannobile, *ZPE* 133 (2000) 145 n. 39. The entities to which the request is addressed are not mentioned (possibly those by which the demon is adjured, 5-11: archangels, 'pneuma' of Christ, angels, Sesenken Brapharaggês).

Εὐλογία: genitive for accusative (as in 34, 38); the same in 924 2 (*Ἀρία* for *Ἀρίαν*), whereas in 5307 (2, 11), the name (*Βάσσα*) is not declined. Eulogia is a typical Christian name, belonging to R. S. Bagnall's category 'names based on abstract nouns and adjectives of theological content' (*BASP* 19 (1982) 11).

2 *ρίγοπυρετίου*. This word occurs in PGM VII 211, 218, P 13.16, Suppl. Mag. I 23.7, and Hsch. η 692 (ii 290 L.). For the kinds of texts in which *ρίγοπύρετος* and *ρίγοπυρέτιον* are found, see LXXX 5247 ii 14 n. On amulets against fever and the terminology employed, see M. de Haro Sanchez, *BASP* 47 (2010) 132–41.

φρίκος, l. *φρίκου*. *φρίκος* in 924 (3, 4, 5) has been taken as the genitive of *φρίξ* incorrectly treated as a masculine or neuter substantive; Preisendanz at PGM P 52.3 also entertained the possibility that the word refers to a masculine demon. But now 5306 37 shows that the form is *φρίκος*, meaning 'shivering fit, chill', a synonym of the commoner *φρίκη*, on which see R. Strömberg, *Griechische Wortstudien* (1944) 80–81. TLG finds this word only in Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 2.2.1.85 (PG XXXVII 1458), with a short *ι*; it is a f.l. in Nic. *Theo.* 778. In 2, 12, 13, 32 (twice), 35 (twice), as in 924 3, 4, 5 and in 5307 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, we have a genitive in *-oc* from a neuter noun in *-oc*: cf. 5310 7, Suppl. Mag. I 18.9, 19.18; Gignac, *Grammar* ii 66. τὸ φρίκος may have arisen through assimilation to its synonym τὸ ῥίγος (cf. τὸ νίκος from *νίκη* following *κράτος*, *εθέος*, see E. Fraenkel, *Glotta* 4 (1913) 41; more generally, Blass–Debrunner–Rehkopf 41 § 51).

3 *δίκροτου*. To my knowledge, *δίκροτος* is not used elsewhere of a sort of fever or shivering. In scientific medical literature, it occurs only as an attribute of *εφυγμός*, and, according to the definition of Archigenes, indicates that kind of pulsation where a full diastole is followed by a second beat before the artery has completed its contraction, cf. Gal. *Diff. Puls.* 1.16 (viii 537.12ff. K.); *DGE* s.v. I.1. It is not easy to tell what is meant here. Perhaps a fever with double heartbeats? Cf. Ruf. *Syn. Puls.* 8.6 (230.15–231.1 D.–R.). ἐπὶ δὲ νοσούντων ἐν ταῖς ἀναβάσει μάλιστα τῶν πυρεσσόντων εὐρίσκεται. 5307 5 has instead *δίδυμος*, which is also not used elsewhere of fever. Is the sense perhaps something like that of *διπλοῦς* in Gal. *Typ.* 5 (vii 472.3ff. K.), used of a fever (quotidian, tertian, or quartan) with two paroxysms at a given time (Strömberg (2 n.) 78)? And does *δίκροτος* perhaps mean the same, a fever (chill) that 'strikes' twice a day? The impression given is that our magician is using medical terminology inappropriately and without accurate knowledge.

3–4 *λυμικῆς* (l. *λοιμικῆς*) ἐφόδου. Cf. Thdt. *Orth.* 17 (30.22 Papadopoulos-Kerameus) *λοιμῶν ἐφόδου*. The motif of 'plague attack' (and more generally 'illness attack') is common in Greek: cf. e.g. Gal. *Ind.* 1 (2.6–7 Boudon-Millot–Jouanna) κατὰ τινα τοῦ πολυχρονίου λοιμοῦ μεγάλην ἐμβολήν, 35 (12.15–16 BMJ) ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ λοιμοῦ καταβολῇ; [Chrys.] *Catech.* (PG LX 740.32) ἐφοδοὶ νοσημάτων; Kotansky, *GMA* 51.11–13 καὶ μηκέτι ἕως ὀφθαλμίας | τιν' ἐμβολήν γενέσθαι]. A Greek amulet against plague (*λοιμός*) from Roman London is published by R. S. O. Tomlin in R. Collins and F. McIntosh (edd.), *Life in the limes: Studies ... Presented to Lindsay Allason-Jones* (2014) 197–205.

4 *μα[νί]ας*. It is not easy to decide between *μα[νί]ας* and *μα[γί]ας* (l. *μαγείας*; the lacuna will not hold three letters). No other supplement seems plausible. Both words occur in amulets and exorcisms: for the first, cf. Kotansky, *GMA* 52.78–9 ἀπὸ πάσης μανίας; L. Delatte, *Un office byzantin d'exorcisme* (1957) 78.10 ὀρκίζω σε, πᾶσαν μανίαν; for the second, cf. Pradel, *GSG* 26.16, 30.16 (cf. app.); Delatte, *AA* 93.17, 115.4, 121.1, 230.34, etc. I print *μα[νί]ας* because *μα[γί]ας* would involve a scribal mistake, but this is a weak argument: the error is an easy one, the spelling *μαγία* is common, and there are many orthographic errors in the text (for *ει* > *ι* in particular, cf. 14, 21, 38).

επάσματος πονηροῦ. Strictly, *επάσμα* is the rupture of tendinous material, cf. Gal. *MM* 4.1, 6.1 (x 232.1–5, 385.8–11 K.), *Orib. Ec.* 68 (CMG VI.2.2 231.30–31). More generally, the word may indicate a cramp or a luxation. However, all these meanings seem to be too precise in this context, and one may re-

sonably suspect that the reference is to an (epileptic) convulsion. If so, *πονηρός* will mean 'evil, malignant' rather than 'painful'. For amulets against epilepsy, see de Haro Sanchez (2 n.) 146–52; see also 5311 7 n.

ὄτι ἐξορκίζω σε. R. Kotansky, *Muséon* 108 (1995) 145–7, showed that in protective charms, the formula ἐξορκίζω σε, even in cases where (as in the present text) the pronoun σε remains undefined, is to be regarded as addressed to the wicked and afflicting demon and refers to its expulsion. The causal nexus is here illogical: the frequent ὄτι ἐξορκίζω (σε, ὑμᾶς) is normally used to give strength to a request addressed to the exorcized entity, which is not the case here. 5306 seems to be a composite text, resulting from juxtaposition of sections that were not originally contiguous. For similar cases, see R. Kotansky, 'Greek Exorcistic Amulets', in M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (edd.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (1995) 243–77 at 260 n. 41; for an instance where (as here), after a protective prayer addressed to a group of benevolent entities, a singular unnamed demon abruptly becomes the object of an exorcism, cf. SEG XLII 1582.31–2. For exorcistic amulets in general, see Kotansky, 'Greek Exorcistic Amulets' (as above); T. de Bruyn in G. D. Dunn and W. Mayer (edd.), *Christians Shaping Identity from the Roman Empire to Byzantium: Studies Inspired by Pauline Allen* (2015) 64–82.

5 κατά τῶ[ν] ἁγίων ἀρχαγγέλων. For 'saint archangel' (a much less common expression than 'saint angel', on which see Michl, 'Engel' 115), cf. e.g. Thdt. *Dan.* 9.24, 25 (PG LXXXI 1472B, 1477B); Georg. Syncl. 23 (13.17 Mosshammer); A. Strittmatter, *Orientalia Christiana* 26 (1932) 142.11.

5–6 ἀρχαγγέλων τῆς μεγάλης δυνάμεως τοῦ κ(υρί)ου ἡμῶν θ(εο)ῦ. Cf. NT 2 *Ep. Thess.* 1.7 μετ' ἀγγέλων δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ (i.e. of Jesus), a disputed phrase but probably meaning 'with the angels belonging to his power' (possessive genitive, as, I think, in our papyrus), cf. E. Best, *A Commentary on the First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians* (1972) 258; F. F. Bruce, *1 & 2 Thessalonians* (1982) 258, thinks of a Hebraism, equivalent to 'his mighty angels', while BDAG s.v. δύναμις 1b has 'w. messengers of his power i.e. angels who exercise Jesus' power'. Cf. the Byzantine spell quoted by F. J. Fernández Nieto in R. L. Gordon and F. M. Simón, *Magical Practice in the Latin West* (2010) 568 ἀρχάγγελος δυνάμεως κυρίου.

6 παντοκράτορος. See Kotansky, *GMA* 47.1–2 n.

7–8 The series of archangels is in the nominative, instead of the genitive: the list has syntactic autonomy (cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* i (1973) 149 n. 81). A (ἅγιος) seems to have dropped out before Γαβριηλ or, less probably, after Εμμανουηλ. For groups of six archangels, cf. Michl, 'Engel' 90, 185. For the well-known Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, cf. Michl, 'Engel' 239–43, 243–51, 252–4 respectively. On the archangels in general, see P. Berl. Sarisch. 4.7 n.; W. M. Brashear in Meyer and Mirecki (4 n.) 220–21.

8 Σουριηλ. See Michl, 'Engel' 235 no. 231; together with Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, *ibid.* 183.

Φαμαηλ. Cf. *Aproc. Bar.* 2.5 (p. 82 Picard); Davidson, *Angels* 224, regards the name as a 'corrupt spelling' of the well-known Phanuel, on whom see 5312 16 n.

Εμμανουηλ. See Michl, 'Engel' 212 no. 75.

9–11 The accusatives τὸ ἱερόν πνεῦμα, τοὺς διάκονας, and τὸν μέγαν [C]εσενκεν Βραφαραγγη indicate the powers by which the exorcism is performed. We have moved from ἐξορκίζω with accusative and κατά with genitive (5) to the verb's other construction, with double accusative, as e.g. in Pradel, *GSG* 22.25–8 ὀρκίζω σε (κατὰ) τῶν ζ' θεμελίων τῆς γῆς τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν, τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ ἡλίου κτλ.; vice versa: PGM III 36–7 ὀρκίζω σε τὸ[ν] τό[πον] [τ]οῦτον, τὴν ὕραν | ταύτην κατὰ τοῦ ἀπα[ρ]αιτήτου θεοῦ, 76–7 ὀρκίζω σε Ιάω, Καβαώθ, Ἄδωναί, | Ἄβρααῆξ καὶ κα(τὰ) τοῦ μεγάλου θεο[ῦ] κτλ. On both constructions, see *Lamella Bernensis* 73–6.

9 ἱερόν πνεῦμα Ἰησοῦ Χρ(ι)στοῦ. I know of no parallel for this expression. The nexus ἱερόν πνεῦμα is atypical in Christian literature (only a v.l. at Ephr. Syr. *Enc. Bas.* 16 (146.64 Mercati)) and not common in other contexts (see however PGM III 8, IV 510, *Corp. Herm.* fr. 25.11 (iv 71.17 N.–F.)). On the other hand, πνεῦμα Ἰησοῦ (Χρ(ι)στοῦ) is common since the NT (BDAG s.v. πνεῦμα 5b; for the idea, Lampe s.v.

πνεῦμα IX.E, esp. II).

Χρ(ι)στοῦ: for the loss of an unaccented vowel after a liquid when the vowel of the contiguous syllable is not identical, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 307.

9-10 τοὺς διάκονας τῆς προζ[υ]χῆς. I have not found this expression elsewhere. *διάκων* seems to mean here 'agent, ministrant, executant' (Lampe s.v. *διάκωνος* I.B; *DGE* s.v. *διάκωνος* B.III.1). The four angels are then in charge of the prayers, i.e. their task, as mediators between God and man, is to take them up to him (cf. Michl, 'Engel' 163; Lampe s.v. *ἄγγελος* II.H.6). The form *διάκων* (= *διάκωνος*), rare in literature, is amply attested in inscriptions and especially in papyri from the first century AD onwards (cf. *DGE* s.v.).

10 *Ιαηλ*. Cf. PGM II 15, IV 961, 3033, V 56; M. Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'angéologie* (1897) 253, 255. *Ασαηλ*. Cf. Michl, 'Engel' 206 no. 36 sub fin.; Davidson, *Angels* 55.

Ουριηλ is well-known, see 5312 9 n.

Δαμαηλ. This name (written *Δαμαέλ*) occurs in Delatte (4 n.) 91.17. 'Damael is from the Hebrew root DMH, a verb meaning 'to resemble', 'to be like,' and hence, putatively, the angel who is like God; cf. Michael = "(He) who is like God" (R. Kotansky, *per litt.*).

II [C]εεενκεν *Βραφαραγγης*. The usual spelling of this common name is *Σεεεγεν Βαρφαραγγης*. Parallels and references in Suppl. Mag. I 10.2 n.; Brashear, 'Greek Magical Papyri' 3598-9. In the present text, it appears as a divine entity, cf. e.g. PGM II 108. It appears among angels' names also in PGM XXXVI 307-11. For another example in a Christian amulet, cf. SEG LV 1037 A.4-5. For Coptic magic, see A. M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte* iii (1930) 31 § 46, 77 § 136.

II-12 ἐλεήσα|τε καὶ κόσατε. This *iunctura* (in the singular) is of liturgical origin: cf. e.g. Epiph. *Lit. Praesant.* 3.128, 132, 150, 161 (pp. 72-4 Moraites), etc.; Greg. Naz. *Lit.* (PG XXXVI 720B, 733.6); Basil. *Lit.* (PG XXXI 1641C, 1653A); J. Goar, *Euchologion sive rituale Graecorum* (1780) 344. In exorcisms: Pradel, *GSG* 18.25; A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina* (1893) 344. For the verb *κώζω* in amulets, see *ZPE* 156 (2006) 106.

13-14 τὸ λεπτοριγοπυρ[έτι]νον, I. τοῦ -πυρετίου: cf. 33, 35-6, 37-8 (all with -ιον). How is -ων(ν)ον (instead of -ιον) to be explained in the termination? Did it originate in a series such as 924 2-6, where each of the preceding elements begins ἀπὸ τοῦ + an adjective ending in -ιον? Then -ιον could have found its way into this word through assimilation. *λεπτοριγοπυρέτιον* is new, but unobjectionable: cf. on the one hand *λεπτοπυρέτιον* (*Cyran.* 2.10.8-9 (p. 133 K.); *Dor. Doct.* II.119 (368.10 Regnault-de Préville); also Lat. *leptopyretia* (neut. pl. and fem. sing.: cf. *TLL* s.v.)) and on the other *ριγοπυρέτιον*, for which see above, 2 n. Our scribe always has trouble with this word: cf. 924 5-6 and 5307 9-10. Moreover, in 5306 13 there is a syntactical inconsistency (nominative/accusative for genitive; the same in 33, 35-6, and 5307 9-10).

14 ἀπὸ παρθὸς πειραμοῦ (I. πειρ-). A frequent phrase in Christian literature: cf. e.g. Hipp. *Dan.* 4.60.3; [Mac. Aeg.] *Hom.* 51.3.26 Marriott; Evagr. *Pont. Or.* 37 (PG LXXIX 1176A). In exorcisms: Delatte (4 n.) 76.1-2 ἐλευθήρωσον, θεόμεθά σου, τὸν δοῦλόν σου ἐκ τοῦ πειραμοῦ τῶν δαιμόνων. The 'Lord's prayer' is in the background.

15 *βασάνων*: here pains caused by illness *vel sim.* (cf. e.g. NT *Ev. Matt.* 4.24; BDAG s.v. 2), rather than hell's torments (NT *Ev. Luc.* 16.23; BDAG s.v. 1). For the demon causing 'torments', cf. e.g. Delatte (4 n.) 47.5 (αἰτία τῶν πόνων καὶ βασάνων), 71.23 (τῶν βασάνων δοτήρ).

16 The second part of the amulet is introduced by an indented heading. For the intrusion of headings or the like from magical handbooks into applied charms (cf. 5308 8-10), see LXVIII 4674 introd.; P. Kramer 2.1-2 n.; *ZPE* 164 (2008) 161; C. A. Faraone in M. Piranomonte and F. Marco Simón (edd.), *Contesti magicil/Contextos mágicos* (2012) 118 with n. 34.

προσευχῇ Ἀδ[ά]μου. The reading Ἀδ[ά]μου seems unavoidable: the trace before the lacuna strongly suggests the open δ characteristic of this hand (a reading π instead of αδ, less probable in itself, would leave the high oblique unexplained); the trace after the lacuna suits μ well; and a final small υ is quite possible. Moreover, this reading finds further support in the presence of the name in line 19. Ἀδάμ is normally treated as indeclinable, but Josephus and others use Ἀδαμος; because of the break in 19, it is unclear whether Ἀδάμ[] or Ἀδάμ[ου] was written there. 'Prayer of Adam' sounds like a pseudepigraphon, not unlike προσευχῇ Ἰακώβ in PGM XXIIb 1 (included by J. H. Charlesworth in his *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (1983-5) ii 715-23). In that case, it is to be added to other 'Adamic literature', such as the *Apocalypse of Adam* (ibid. i 704-19), the *Testament of Adam* (ibid. i 989-95), and the *Life of Adam and Eve* (ibid. ii 249-95). Admittedly, there is no obvious relationship between the title and the content (apart from the recurrence of the name in 19), and unless part of this section has dropped out, the fathering of the 'prayer' on Adam seems rather to be a fiction intended to give what follows authority and legitimize it in the eyes of the clientele. For similar cases, see G. Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (2008) 202.

17-23 In this very problematic section, I am deeply indebted and much obliged to Roy Kotansky for many precious suggestions.

17 The difficulties begin already with this line. (i) ταῦτα τῶν ὀνομ[ά]των seems a strange way to begin: which names? and why the genitive (a partitive?). (ii) The word after ὀνομ[ά]των remains mysterious: ο rather than α; after υ (or μ?), first, what looks like a μ with λ (?) above (a correction?); second, an indecipherable trace in abraded context (apparently a vertical with a leftward-pointing stroke at the foot: ξ?). Nothing suitable occurs to me. All I can think of is ὁμοια, but I do not see how that could fit the context, and the reading is not convincing. (iii) The final letters, on a lower level (why?), are, again, difficult to decipher: χ better than κ; then first, α better than ολ or αλ; second, a round letter open to the right: ς, or ε if its cap has vanished; third, an upright and then two dots one above the other. We need a verb, it seems, and a reading -χασω (possible in itself) would offer an appropriate ending, but how is it to be connected with the preceding δέμοσι? Everything is unclear, and the obscurity of this line increases the intrinsic difficulties of what follows.

μικροῖς δέμοσι (l. δαίμοσι). Cf. PGM XV 18 (of πνεύματα τῶν δαιμόνων) ἦτε ἄρκενες ἦτε θήλειαι, ἦτε μικροὶ ἦτε μεγάλοι. However, the context is completely different. In the all-embracing formula of PGM XV, 'small demons' is not especially surprising (though the opposition 'small/great' is typically used in a different context, that of charms to gain favour and the like, in reference to men: cf. PGM XII 50 διακόνησόν μοι εἴτε πρὸς ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας, μικροὺς τε καὶ μεγάλους, XXXV 16-17, P 21.19-23; Kotansky, *GMA* 58.16-17, 34). In the present text, on the other hand, the qualification seems hard to explain, and I wonder whether μικροῖς is a corruption of πικροῖς: for πικρὸς δαίμων, cf. e.g. Eus. *DE* 7.3.50; Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 1.1.22.13 (PG XXXVII 493); Amphil. *Exerc.* 14 (199.539 Datema); Sever. *In Job* 3.1 (PG LVI 572.8); Hsch. a 2783 (i 99 L.).

18-23 Only the general lines of interpretation will be discussed here; for particular points, see the following notes.

Two parts may be distinguished, (A) 18-19 (καὶ ἐξόρκισεν (l. ἐξώρ-) το Ἀδάμ) and (B) 19-23 (ἐκαστος το ἐπαγγελτήκοτες). (A), with past-tense verbs, appears to contain a *historiola*-like narrative, in which someone (sing.) adjured someone else (pl.); (B), with present-tense verbs, seems to illustrate the actual consequences of that 'archetypical' adjuration. Who is the adjurer, and who are the adjured? As for the first question, it cannot be Solomon (the exorcist *par excellence*) nor other biblical men with exorcistic or magical powers (like Moses or David), because of 19 δι' ἀποστόλ[ο]υς, 'by' or 'through the apostles'. Jesus could be a suitable subject in the first part of 18 ('he adjured them (the demons) in (i.e. "as is written in, as occurs in") the Scriptures'), but then it is not clear how what follows (καὶ ἔγραψεν αὐτούς) would

make sense. And what is *τοὺς ἐν τῇ σφραγίδι τοῦ Ἀδάμ* connected with? Moreover, if *αὐτοὺς* refers in both places (18, 18–19) to the demons, *ἕκαστος αὐτῶν* (19–20) would also refer to them; but how could demons have the seal of God (20)?

R. Kotansky suggests instead that this section deals with a liturgical baptismal exorcism, i.e. the rite of exorcizing catechumens as a preparation for the Sacrament of Baptism. *ἕκαστος αὐτῶν* (19–20) would refer to the catechumens who receive the baptism. Each of them, through the baptism, has obtained the seal of the living God and, sealed on the forehead (21 *ἐσφραγισμένοι ἐπάνω*) by the sign (of the cross, *σημίου*, I. *σημείω*), they have remedies that prevent (the demons) from drawing near. If so, and if nothing is lost between (A) and (B), the *historiola* (18–19) may refer to a particular person (a saint, a bishop, or the like, e.g. Tryphon, Basil, John Chrysostom, to whom many *ἐξορκισμοί* are attributed), and *αὐτοὺς* in both places (18, 18–19) will refer to the catechumens. However, a difficulty remains: 'he exorcized them in/by the scriptures (Scriptures?) and wrote (?) them by the apostles' does not seem to yield good sense. A solution may be to invert the order of the verbs *ἐξώρκειεν* and *ἔγραψεν*: perhaps a scribe read the whole period in the exemplar and, when writing it down, repeated it in his mind with the two verbs interchanged. Now a suitable interpretation seems possible: a certain person registered (*ἔγραψεν*) the catechumens in the baptismal lists (*ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς*, see next note) and, in the name of the apostles, exorcized them, men who were under original sin (*τοὺς ἐν τῇ σφραγίδι τοῦ Ἀδάμ*), see below).

Not everything is perfectly in order, but I am confident enough that this approach is on the right track, at least in outline. The following notes assume the baptismal interpretation to be correct.

18 {*ἐξώρκειεν*} (*ἔγραψεν*) *αὐτ[ο]ὺς ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς*. The prebaptismal procedures of many liturgies prescribed that the names of the candidates for baptism were to be registered by the bishop in a special list (*ὀνοματογραφία*, Cyr. H. *Procatech.* 1 (PG XXXIII 333A); *nomenclatio*), cf. V. Saxer, *Les rites de l'initiation chrétienne du II^e au VI^e siècle* (1988) 196, 211–12, 303, 309, 313, 385, 404, 424, 459, 460. That list is called *ἀπογραφή* in Dion. Ar. *EH* 396C, 400D (72.17, 76.3 Heil–Ritter), and the verbs used to indicate this enrolment are *ἀπογράφω* (Bas. *Hom.* 13.7 (PG XXXI 440A); Cyr. H. *Procatech.* 13 (PG XXXIII 353B); Dion. Ar. *EH* 396A (71.17, 19 H.–R.)), *καταγράφω* (Bas., loc. cit.), *ἐγγράφω* (Cyr. H. *Procatech.* 4 (PG XXXIII 340A); Goar (11–12 n.) 283); but the simple *γραφή* may also mean 'register, list', especially in the papyri (LSJ s.v. II.2.b; *DGE* s.v. II.5; *WB* s.v. 8); and for *γράφω* 'register, enrol', see LSJ s.v. A.II.3, *DGE* s.v. A.II.4.

18–19 *καὶ {ἔγραψεν} {ἐξώρκειεν} αὐτοὺς*. On the baptismal exorcism (explicitly attested as an essential element of the baptismal process from the beginning of the third century), in addition to the still indispensable R. J. Dölger, *Der Exorzismus im altchristlichen Taufritual* (1909), see H. A. Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism* (1985); K. Thraede, *RAC* VII (1966) 44–117 s.v. Exorzismus, esp. 83–9; A. Nicolotti, *Esorcismo cristiano e possessione diabolica tra II e III secolo* (2011) 84–101.

19 *δι' ἀποστόλ[ο]υς*. For adjurations by the apostles, cf. e.g. PGM P 12.4–5; Kotansky, *GMA* 68.4–5; Delatte (4 n.) 58.1, 17–18, 60.18, 85.8; Delatte, *AA* 62.13, 119.25. The construction of *ἐξώρκειζω* with *διά* and the accusative (or the genitive) does not occur in the magical papyri, but is well attested in later texts: cf. e.g. Pradel, *GSG* 13.23–9, 22.24, etc.; Delatte (4 n.) 52.7, 9, 53.18, etc.

τοὺς ἐν τῇ σφραγίδι τοῦ Ἀδάμ is to be understood in a metaphorical sense and as opposed to the following 'each of them has the seal of the living God'. The catechumen before baptism is under the sign of Adam, while after baptism he is under the sign of Christ; through the sacrament of new birth, he goes out from his Adam-like condition, original sin, and enters Christ's flock. Cf. e.g. Greg. Nyss. *Bapt. Diff.* (PG XLVI 417C–D) *ἔξω τοῦ παραδείσου τυγχάνεις, ὁ κατηχούμενος, κοινωνῶν τῆς ἐξορίας τῷ Ἀδάμ τῷ προπάτορι. νῦν δέ σοι τῆς θύρας ὑπανογομένης, εἰσελθε ὅθεν ἐξῆλθες κτλ.*; similarly Cyr. H. *Catech. Mystag.* 1.9.3–5 (p. 98 Piédagnel) *ἀνοίγεται σοι ὁ παράδεισος τοῦ Θεοῦ ... ὅθεν διὰ τὴν παράβασι*

ἐξόριστος γέγονεν ὁ ἡμέτερος προπάτωρ. More generally, for Adam bringing death and damnation in contrast to Christ bringing life and salvation (a common motif since NT *Ep. Rom.* 5.12–21 and *1 Ep. Cor.* 15.20–22), see Lampe s.v. *Ἀδάμ* I.3.d.

A Coptic ostrakon (Cairo, Egyptian Museum JdE 49547), translated by D. Frankfurter in M. Meyer and R. Smith (edd.), *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (1994) 228–30 no. 113, refers (7ff.) to three seals of Adam, on his body, limbs, and kidneys and heart; the motif 'probably derives from the Jewish mystical tradition' (ibid. p. 375). There is another reference to a seal of Adam in the Mishnah (*Sanhedrin* 4.5): 'the King of kings of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He, minted all human beings with that seal of his with which he made the first person, yet not one of them is like anyone else' (tr. J. Neusner, *The Mishnah: A New Translation* (1988) 591). There do not appear to be any direct links between these texts and our passage.

19–20 ἑκαστος αὐτῶν: ε has almost completely vanished. Cf. A. Jacob, 'L'Euchologe de Porphyre Uspenski', *Muséon* 78 (1965) 194 no. 155 ἵστησι δὲ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐμπροσθεν τῆς ἁγίας κολυμβήθραος κτλ. (of a group of converted heretics to be baptized); NT *Act. Ap.* 2.38 βαπτισθῆτω ἕκαστος ὑμῶν.

20 []ων. The context and ending suggest a verb. Since the trace before the break (apparently the lower left quarter of an oval) suits ε, I would expect ἑ[χ]ουσι (the plural is normal with ἕκαστος, cf. *DGE* s.v. B.II.1), although the trace before c does not particularly suggest u. Cf. Cyr. H. *Catech. Mystag.* 4.7.13–15 (p. 140 Piédagnel) ἐλαίῳ ἐλίπανέ σου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ μετώπου διὰ τὴν σφραγίδα, ἣν ἔχεις τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἵνα γενήσῃ ἐκτύπωμα σφραγίδος, ἁγίαςμα Θεοῦ.

σφραγίδα. For σφραγίς of baptism, cf. Lampe s.v. C. In baptismal language, σφραγίς is not a physical *sigillum* nor the physical sign of it; see K. O. Sandnes in D. Hellholm et al. (edd.), *Ablution, Initiation and Baptism* ii (2011) 1441–81.

20–21 σφραγίδα τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ τοῦ ζῶντος. This phrase goes back to NT *Apos.* 7.2 καὶ εἶδον ἄλλον ἄγγελον . . . ἔχοντα σφραγίδα θεοῦ ζῶντος. In magical texts, it recurs in some amuletic Byzantine bronze medals (cf. Bonner, *SMA* 219–20) and in SEG XLIX 2383.1. For σφραγίς θεοῦ, see the references in Michel, *MGBM* i 268–70 no. 430; for θεὸς ζῶν, see *Lamella Bernensis* 67–8; P. Mich. XIX 799, pp. 12–15.

21 ἐσφραγισμένοι ἐπάνω σημίου. σημίου does not seem to give good sense if taken as a genitive depending on prepositional ἐπάνω. Instead, I take ἐπάνω as an adverb and σημίον as a misspelling of σημεῖον (for ω > ου, a common error, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 209–11). σημεῖον means here the sign of the cross (see Lampe s.v. 5.c) and indicates the *signatio* with oil made by the bishop on the forehead of the person being baptized (for pre- and post-baptismal unctio in the various churches and periods, see M. Metzger, W. Drews, H. Brakmann, *RAC* XX (2004) 509ff. s.v. Katechumenat; C. Strecker, 'Taufritual im frühen Christentum und in der Alten Kirche', in Hellholm et al. (20 n.) 1383–1440. For σφραγίζω 'sign with cross', see Lampe s.v. B.

21–2 καὶ ἐσφραγισμένοι ἐπάνω σημίου καὶ ἑ[χ]ουσι: either ἐσφραγισμένοι (εἰς) or {καὶ} ἑ[χ]ουσι seems required.

22 φάρμακα: of baptism (cf. Clem. Al. *Paed.* 1.6.29.5 (20.10 Marcovich) παιωνίῳ φαρμάκῳ; Lampe s.v. 1), or the sign of the cross (21 ἐσφραγισμένοι), or of both. The 'seal' of baptism and the sign of the cross were thought to have protective power: for the former, see *Lamella Bernensis* 69, and for the latter, e.g. J. Engemann, *JbAC* 43 (2000) 64 with n. 46.

ἵνα μὴ ἐγγίξουσιν (l. -ων: for ω > ου, cf. 21 n.). For ἐγγίξω (also 38) used to indicate the approaching of demons, evil, etc., see L. Robert, *JS* 1981, 18–20, 27 (= *Opera minora selecta* vii (1990) 480–82, 489), and especially *Lamella Bernensis* 70–71 (adding Leont. N. *V. Sym.* p. 149.29 Rydén οὐκ ἐγγίξει σοὶ ὁ δαίμων). With a reference to baptism: Delatte, *AA* 243.23–4 μὴ ἐγγίχητε ἀνθρώπου ὃς εἰδέξατο τὸ ἅγιον

βάπτισμα.

εἰς ὄλων. In line 38, in a similar context, we find εἰσολωσ, and so too in 924 8; 5307 11-12 is damaged in the relevant place. Of course, greater frequency does not establish superiority; there are no parallels for either, as far as I can see. Unless εἰσολων here is a slip for εἰσολωσ (interchange of -σ and -ν: Gignac, *Grammar* i 131-2), one has to assume a misspelling ο > ω (Gignac, *Grammar* i 277), to give εἰς ὄλων, for which I see two possibilities: (a) 'at all', cf. expressions such as εἰς τὸ ὄλον, δι' ὄλου, ἐν ὄλαις, ἐξ ὄλων, etc.; (b) an ellipse εἰς ὄλον (sc. τὸν χρόνον)? If εἰσολωσ: (a) εἰσόλωσ, cf. διόλωσ, καθόλωσ, συνόλωσ (although εἰς seems to be compounded only with adverbs of time or of number); (b) εἰς ὄλωσ, '(no) one absolutely' (cf. Men. fr. 64.9 KA γήμασ δ' οὐδὲ εἰς ἐέωσθ' ὄλωσ with n.); but why the masculine? I incline to εἰς ὄλον, but would not exclude the possibility that εἰσόλωσ was in use in popular speech. In theory a *reductio ad unum* is not strictly needed: the scribe could have used εἰς ὄλον once and εἰσόλωσ twice. The sense, however, seems certain, 'at all'; then, in view of the negative context, 'not at all'. Cf. [Bas.] *Exorc.* 1 (PG XXXI 1680A) ἐπίταξον αὐτῶ καὶ τοῖς δαίμοσιν αὐτοῦ ἀναχωρῆσαι παντελῶσ.

22-3 ἐπαρ|εστηκότες: 'having rebelled', 'rebels'. Cf. ἐπανάστασις δαιμόνων in Tat. *Orat.* 12.7 (29.36-7 Marcovich), Eus. *PE* 5.1.16, Ath. *Exp. P.* 118 arg. (PG XXVII 480C), Cyr. *Coll. VT* (PG LXXVII 1269B), etc. ἐπανίσταμαι 'rise up against' is common in the Septuagint, but not used there of demons.

23 εἶτε ... εἶτε ... εἶτε. For the εἶτε-εἶτε-*Stil*, see *ZPE* 48 (1982) 160-61.

ἄρσεν ... θῆλυ: neuter because of the following πνεύμα. For masculine and feminine demons, cf. PGM IV 348, 361-2, 370-71, 2518, XV 18, P 21.37; *Suppl. Mag.* I 46.7, 15; 48 J.6, 20; 49.33; Kotansky, *GMA* 38.7 with n. (parallels in Aramaic magic), 52.89 (with 89-91 n.), 112-13; Audollent, *DT* 25.2; SEG XXXI 621.7, XLIX 2383.39, LIII 1075.5; *Test. Sal.* 1.7 (10*.9 McCown); Pradel, *GSG* 20.18 (with comm., pp. 84-5); R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* (1904) 293, 298; Delatte, *AA* 126.13-14, 249.14; Delatte (4 n.) 35.18-19; A. Jacob, 'Un exorcisme inédit du Vat. gr. 1572', *OCP* 37 (1971) 246 (9). For Coptic magic, see Kropp (11 n.) 97 § 170.

23-4 πνεύμα δαιμόν[ο]ν. Cf. NT *Ev. Luc.* 4.33 ἄνθρωπος ἔχων πνεῦμα δαιμονίου; *Didym.* 2 *Cor.* 7.1 (33.8 Staab); NT *Aroc.* 16.14 πνεύματα δαιμονίων; PGM P 13a.3-4 πᾶν | πνεύμα δαιμονίων; Delatte, *AA* 26.10 τὰ πνεύματα τῶν δαιμονίων; also PGM XV 16-17 τὰ πνεύματα τῶν δαιμόνων. The equivalent πνεῦμα δαιμόνιον is more common.

24 χαλεπώτερον: a comparative with elative meaning, see Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf 194-6 § 244; Mayser, *Grammatik* ii.1 49-51. For χαλεπὸν πνεῦμα 'evil spirit', cf. *Epiph. Haer.* 74.89.5 (iii 326.9 H.) = *Ancor.* 72.5 (i 90.16-17 H.); *Test. Sal.* 16.1, 25.3 (48*.8, 71*.12 McCown); P. Köln VIII 338.10-11 n. (p. 62). χαλεπὸς δαίμων and χαλεπὸν δαιμόνιον are much more common.

24-30 ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶσ κατα ... Ἰαβωκ ανουν ουρη. We have here an exorcistic formula of the following kind: 'I exorcize you by the one above a, b; by the one above b, c; by the one above c, d; ...', where a b c d etc. are divine names. For the complete form, cf. the amulet SEG LIII 990.1-13 (gold lamella from Comiso (Sicily), v?): ὀρκίζω σε τὸν μέ|γαν θεὸν ζῶ(ν)τα, τὸ|ν ἐπάνω τοῦ θεοῦ Κα|βαω τὸν Ἰαω, τὸν ἐπ|άνω τοῦ Ἰαω τὸν Ε|λοειον, τὸν ἐπάνω τοῦ Ε|λοειου τὸν Ε|λαν, τὸν | ἐπάνω τοῦ Ε|λαν | τὸν Μα|ρμαριω, τὸ|ν ἐπάνω τοῦ Μα|ρμαριω τὸν Ἰα|κο|βα, τὸν ἐπάνω τοῦ | Ἰα|βοχ τὸν Ω|ν| . In two other amulets, the structure of the formula appears mutilated and broken: Kotansky, *GMA* 52.1-6 (cf. SEG XLIX 1991; silver lamella from Berytus, v/vi?) ὀρκίζω σε τὸν | ἐπάνω τ(οῦ) οὐρανοῦ | Καβαωτ τὸν ἐλθ(ν)τα ἐπάνω τοῦ Ελα|ωθ τὸν ἐπάνω τοῦ | Χθοθαι; SEG XLIX 2383.2-4 (gold lamella, unknown provenance, v?) ὀρκίζω τὸν ἐπάνω τῶν | οὐρανῶν Καβαωτ τὸν Εδεωθ τὸν ἐπάνω τοῦ Εχε|ωθ τὸν Εδεωθ τὸν Χθοθαι (for the dates, cf. *Lamella Bernensis* 16-17 and 8-9). In 5306, phrases constructed according to the pattern described alternate with others that appear to be independent (28-9 'I exorcize you by a'). There are further anomalies: after *Καβαωθαιω* (25), the entire sequence ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶσ κατα τοῦ ἐπάνω *Καβαωθαιω*,

Χαρχαακ seems to have dropped out, and the name of the entity above Sabaoth is missing (27; probably κ|ατὰ τοῦ ἐπάνω Σαβαωθ (Ιαω)). Note that the sequence of names in 26–30 (Σαβαωθ, Ιαω, Ελωαι, Ιαβωχ) is close to that in SEG LIII 990.1–13 (quoted above). The papyrus text here (27–30) is probably a corrupt version of ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ ἐπάνω Σαβαωθ, Ιαω· ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ ἐπάνω Ιαω, Ελωαι· ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ ἐπάνω Ελωαι, Ιαβωκ; or another figure, or more than one, each with his own ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ ἐπάνω *a, b* formula, may have dropped out between Ιαω and Ελωαι.

24 ὑμᾶς. After εἶτε ἄρσεν εἶτε θῆλυ εἶτε πν(εῦμ)α, one would expect σε, cf. SEG XLIX 2383.46–9 ἦτε ἐπίεμπτον ἢ αὐτόμολον καὶ ἀνίδεον (l. ἀνείδεον) εἶτε σχήματι πολυπροσώπῳ ..., φεῦγε. Similar inconsistencies are common, see 5305 ii 6 n.

25 [] [] [] [] |αθι. ι: the divine name is irrecoverable. The trace in the penultimate position may represent the lower part of β or possibly θ.

Σιαβραθιαω. Cf. PGM XIII 818–19 ci|αβραθιαω. According to W. Fauth, *OC* 67 (1983) 65–103, Αβραθιαω is a variant of the common Αρβαθιαω (Hebr. 'arba' Iad [YHWH], with reference to the four letters of the Tetragrammaton). However, Kotansky, *GMA* 2.4–5 n., considers the possibility that Αβραθιαω might be a different word, corresponding to Hebrew 'ebrah YHWH [= Iad] 'the wrath of the Lord'. As for the initial ci-, this sometimes corresponds to Egyptian s, Coptic ci, 'son', as for example in ciαηθ, 'son of Seth' (Suppl. Mag. II 96 A.16; see P. Coles 12 ↓ 6 n.), but such a mixture of Egyptian and Jewish elements would be strange in a formula which was probably entirely Jewish in origin (see however below, 30 n.). One would willingly connect ci with the previous name, but the parallel in PGM XIII seems to point towards the division assumed here.

26 Χαρχαακ is not attested elsewhere to my knowledge; cf. e.g. PGM IV 2772 Χαρχαρ (see Brashear, 'Greek Magical Papyri' 3602), 1736 and 1803 χαρακω; Delatte, *AA* 95.17 αχαρακα, 436.23 Χαρακιήλ, 478.12 Χαρακήλ.

30 Ιαβωκ. Probably YHWH, see Brashear, 'Greek Magical Papyri' 3587; R. Merkelbach and M. Totti, *Abrasax* i (1990) 177; Michel, *MGBM* i 40 no. 62.

αουου. Cf. the endings of PGM VII 931 ρολεανουου, XII 81 εφανουου; Delatte, *AA* 26.24 Παβιχανουου; also PGM LXI 26 αουου with H. Thompson's note, *PBA* 17 (1931) 267 sub fin.

ουηρ may be Egyptian wr 'great', see Kotansky, *GMA* 39.4–6 n. For the possible presence of Egyptian elements here, see above, 25 n.

30–31 διατη|ρήε[ατε]. This appears inconsistent with what precedes (see also above, 4 n., on ὅτι ἐξορκίζω σε): it is not the demons, the object of the immediately preceding adjuration, who have to protect Eulogia. The same inconsistency is in evidence in the 'parallel' texts mentioned in 24–30 n. This problem is amply discussed in *Lamella Bernensis* 76–80. διατηρέω is rare in amulets, cf. SEG XLVI 2246.41 with F. Heintz's note, *ZPE* 112 (1996) 299.

31 πη[] [] [] [] : π better than γ; between this and the putative η, some faint ink (mirror trace?); after the gap: first, a minimal high trace; second, apparently the upper arc of a round letter; third, an upright; at the end, possibly α. Difficult. In other similar passages (1, 12, 34), a verb of protection has as its object Eulogia, not something of hers.

32, 35 φρίκος, l. φρίκοις. See above, 2 n.

33–4 ἵνα συνφυλάξῃται (l. -τε) | καὶ συντηρήσῃται (l. -τε). ἵνα probably begins a new sentence rather than a final clause, cf. 1 n.; both this text and 924 start with ἵνα, and it is supplied at the start of 5307.

36 μὴ ἀφήται (l. -τε). For this nexus, cf. Suppl. Mag. I 47.10, 50.57, II 52.10, 16, P. Coles 12 → 6, SEG XXXV 218.12, 219.9, 220.8–9, 221.6–7, 225 B.6; CIIP II 1679.12 (ἀφήσῃται).

37 φρίκος. See above, 2 n.

38 ἐγγίζω (l. -ζεω) εἰς Εὐλογίαε (l. -αν). ἐγγίζω εἰς is normal with things; with persons, the verb is

followed by the dative, or the simple accusative, or *πρός* with the accusative: cf. *DGE* s.v. I.1. For *ἐγγίζω* in magical texts, see above, 22 n.

εἰκόλωσ. See above, 22 n.

39 *κατὰ τὴν πίστι[ε]ν αὐτῆς*: in 924 8–9 and 5307 12–13, this is preceded by *κατὰ τὸ θέλημα σου πρῶτον καί*. The phrase goes back to NT *Eu. Matt.* 9.29 *κατὰ τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν γενηθήτω ὑμῖν*: the healing of the blind depends on their faith (cf. 28 *πιστεύετε ὅτι δύναμαι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι*). Cf. 8.13 (the centurion's son recovers because his father believed: *ὡς ἐπίστευας γενηθήτω σοι*), 9.22 (the woman suffering from a flow of blood) *ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε*; *Eu. Marc.* 9.23 (the possessed boy); also NT *Ep. Jac.* 5.15 *ἡ εὐχὴ τῆς πίστεως σώσει τὸν κάμνοντα*. As in the archetypal miracles, Eulogia will obtain protection 'in accordance with her faith'. Similarly, Abgar in the Coptic version of Jesus' letter to him: 'du wirst empfangen gemäß (κατὰ) deinem Glauben (πίστις)' (tr. V. Stegemann, *Die koptischen Zaubertexte der Sammlung Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer in Wien* (1934) 48). Cf. also *Mn. Fel. Oct.* 27.7 (the demons) *vel exsiliunt statim vel evanescent gradatim prout fides patientis adiuvat aut gratia curantis adspirat*; Delatte (4 n.) 29.2–3 *ὁ ἐξορκίζων ὀφείλει διδάσκειν τὸν δαιμονῶντα ἔχειν τὸν νοῦν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ μετὰ πίστεως*.

39–40 *ὅτι δούλη ἐστὶν τοῦ θεοῦ* | *τοῦ ζῶντος*. Cf. 5308 4–5. 'Servant of God' is very common in Christian amulets (see Brashear, *Magica Varia* 67; P. Prag, I 6.9 n.). More generally, cf. *TWNT* II 276–9; Lampe s.v. *δοῦλος* B.2. For the expression *ὅτι δούλος ἐστίν* (*εἰμι*) in magical texts, cf. PGM XII 71, XIII 637, P. Kellis I 87.3. The model is LXX *Ps.* 142.12 *ὅτι δούλος σου εἰμι ἐγώ*. For *δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ* | *τοῦ ζῶντος*, cf. *Thd. Dan.* 6.21. For *θεὸς ζῶν*, see above, 20–21 n. For the concept 'servant of the deity' in the non-Christian world, see H. W. Pleket in H. S. Versnel (ed.), *Faith, Hope and Worship* (1981) 152–92.

40–41 *καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων* | *αὐτοῦ ἰω νιπαλαμνεωθ*. Neither 924 nor 5307 has this phrase. The syntax and logic are unclear: 'and (since she is) with (under the protection of) his (the living God's) holy angels' (cf. above, 5–6)? Or rather 'Eulogia is a servant of God and of his holy angels'? Two silver lamellae from Capua, SEG LXI 772–3 (IV/V or later), show that the latter was probably intended here: 773 A.10–11 has [*δ*]τι *δοῦλος* | [*Κυρ*]ίου [*Θεο*]ῦ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ, while 772.17–21 is given as *ὅτι* | *δοῦλος Κ(υρίου)υ* | *cην* καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ. (S. Follet ap. C. Courier and M.-Y. Perrin, *An. Ép.* 2011 no. 265, suggests that *cην* is a 'mélecture de 'ctin = ἐctin (en onciales: CHN et CTIN)'; to judge by the photograph in *Orizzonti* 12 (2011) 40 (fig. 4), it may be possible to read *ἐς|τῆν*, for ἐctin.) It is likely, then, that {*μετὰ*} is the cure, though it is not clear how the preposition slipped in. For *ιω* (here equivalent to *Iaw*?), see Brashear, 'Greek Magical Papyri' 3588; C. A. Faraone and R. Kotansky, *ZPE* 75 (1988) 264 (25–6 n.). As for the sequence after *ιω*, it is uncertain if and how it is to be articulated: *νιπαλαμν* (cf. PGM XXIb.18 *ὁ κύριος θεὸς τῶν Ἑβραίων, Ἐπα[γ]αήλ αλαμν* with Preisendanz's note) *εωθ* (cf. Delatte, *AA* 418.28)? Or *νι* (cf. PGM IV 1983 *χθεθω:νι λαίλαμ: Ἰάω*) *παλαμνεωθ*, this last a sort of 'Hebraized' Greek formation, something like 'the avenger'?

41–2 *ἵνα τὸ ὄνομά σου {ἦ} διὰ* | *παντὸς ἦ δεδοξαμένον*. The same repetition of *ἦ* in 924 13 and 5307 16. The sequence *ἦ διὰ παντὸς ἦ* looks like a combination of variants in a handbook (from *ἦ δεδοξαμένον* with the strengthened form *διὰ παντὸς ἦ* written above the line). In any case (and even more so if this suggestion is correct), it is the first *ἦ* that should be put between braces: it seems less natural to have *ἦ* separated from *δεδοξαμένον*. This precise doxological form, so far as I can see, does not occur elsewhere, but it is equivalent to the frequent *ἵνα* (*ὄπωσ*) *δοξαθῆ* τὸ ὄνομά σου (cf. LXX *Is.* 66.5), which is often employed, as here, after requests in prayers: cf. e.g. *Herm. Vis.* 4.1.3; [Jo. Dam.] *Bf* 30.197–8 (p. 315 Volk); *Acta Philippi* 19 (10.24–5 Bonnet); Vassiliev (11–12 n.) 327 *δὸς αὐτῆν, Δέσποτα Κύριε, ὑγείαν, ζωήν, εἰρήνην, μακροήμερευεν ὄπωσ δοξαθῆ καὶ παρ' αὐτῆς τὸ πανάγιον ὄνομά σου*. The perfect in periphrastic form is possibly reminiscent of the well-known LXX *Dan.* 3.26 (= *Od.* 7) *εὐλογητὸς εἶ, κύριε ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, καὶ αἰνετὸν καὶ δεδοξαμένον τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τοὺς*

αιῶνας. cov is used here as in 924 12 and 5307 16, but one would expect αὐτοῦ in the present passage (unless 41 ιω is to be taken as a vocative).

43 δύναμις. This confirms Preisendanz's supplement δύν[αμ]ις in 924 14 (cf. PGM P 5a). The word means here 'prodigious power' ('Wunderkraft' PGM), and is synonymous with ἀρετή in pagan aretalogies; see BDAG s.v. 1b; DGE s.v. A.I.5; H. S. Versnel in *Magika Hiera* 74 with n. 76.

43-4 δύναμις | Ἰ(ησοῦ)ῦ ... Χ(ριστοῦ)ῦ is to be regarded as an *Akklamation*, 'Power of Jesus Christ!', see E. Peterson and C. Marksches, *Heis Theos* (2012) 198-9, and cf. Suppl. Mag. I 22.1 with 1-2 n. K. Wessely, *Patrologia Orientalis* 18 (1924) 402, J. van Haelst, *Catalogue* 307 no. 953, and de Haro Sanchez (2 n.) 135 (with reference to 924) take Ἰ(ησοῦ)ῦ as governed by πατήρ and Χ(ριστοῦ)ῦ by μήτηρ ('Père de Jésus-Fils-Mère du Christ'; in the ed. pr., this part was not translated), but this interpretation, improbable in itself, is contradicted by the layout of the text in 5307, where πατήρ and μήτηρ (and υἱός) are on a level distinctly lower than that of Ἰ(ησοῦ)ῦ ... Χ(ριστοῦ)ῦ. Then: πατήρ, υἱός, μήτηρ, followed by πνε(ἔθμ)α ἅγιος (l. ἅγιον) in line 46 (so rightly Preisendanz; M. Meyer in Meyer and Smith (19 n.) 40 no. 15; also T. S. de Bruyn and J. H. F. Dijkstra, *BASP* 48 (2011) 181 n. 105). The presence of μήτηρ may reflect the trinitarian conception that established an equivalence between the Mother and the Holy Spirit, see R. Mazza, *AnnSE* 24 (2007) 448-50. For trinitarian formulas in amulets, see de Bruyn and Dijkstra (as above) 181 with n. 102; also Kotansky, *GMA* 53.1-3; SEG LVI 1093.1-3, LVIII 1100 A.1-4.

44-7 On the vowels in magic, see e.g. F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (1925) 35-60; Brashear, 'Greek Magical Papyri' 3431; Michel, *MGBM* i 376-7. In 924 and 5307, the two columns of vowels are written on the far left and far right, whereas in 5306 the first column is placed to the right of Ἰ(ησοῦ)ῦ and the second to the left of Χ(ριστοῦ)ῦ. The seven vowels (symbolizing the seven planets), Α-Ω (45), and Αβρααξ (47; the isopsephic value of the word is 365, corresponding to the number of days in a year) together symbolize Christ as the whole (see P. Mich. XIX 799, pp. 46-8).

Two heavy blobs stand to the left and two to the right of the cross. Above it, there is one to the left of the vertical, and another may have been lost in a small gap, cf. 924 15-16, which has what appears to be the complete scheme: see the new edition in *Galenos* 9 (2015) 229-34. These dots may have a 'magical', rather than purely ornamental, function. One might also suppose that dots were used in the exemplar of these amulets to mark the places where staurograms (or similar) were to be placed, but the staurograms themselves were never inserted; copies such as these amulets took over the dots instead.

45 On Α-Ω, see e.g. G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* i (1981) 67. For the cross with Α-Ω, cf. e.g. PGM P 3.11, Suppl. Mag. I 22.1, 27.6; P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 5 (1970) 58. Cf. also 5313 5.

ἅγιος, l. ἅγιον (interchange of -ς and -ν: Gignac, *Grammar* i 131-2). The same error in 924 17 and 5307 22.

47 Αβρααξ. See 5305 iii 8 n. For intrusion of magical words in Christian amulets, see de Bruyn and Dijkstra (43-4 n.) 181-2; also e.g. PGM P 3.2, 7-8; Kotansky, *GMA* 53.4-7, 65.2-4 (?; see 4 n.), 66.2-7.

5307. AMULET FOR BASSA

106/5(b)

7.5 x 11 cm

Fourth century
Plate III

A small sheet, damaged in the middle on the left- and right-hand sides, with text running along the fibres. The back is blank. The papyrus was folded seven times vertically and four times horizontally. The same hand wrote 5306 and VI 924; see above, 5306-7 introd.

ἵνα σ]υμφυλάξῃς καὶ συντηρήσῃς
 Β]άσσα ἀπὸ τοῦ καθημερινοῦ
 φρί]κος καὶ {ἀπὸ} τοῦ καθημερινοῦ
 φρίκος κα]ῖ} ἀ[π]ὸ τοῦ ἐπιημερινοῦ
 5 {νου} φρίκος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ διδύμου
 φρίκος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμιτριτέου
 φρίκος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νυκτερινοῦ
 φρίκος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρετοῦ καὶ
 ἀπὸ το[ῦ] λεπτοριγο {λεπτοριγο
 10 λ[ε]πτο} [π]υρέτινον καὶ μὴ ἀφήσ
 ταῦτα [ε]γγίζω εἰς Βάσσα εἰς
 ὄλω , [κα]τὰ τὸ θέλημά σου πρῶ-
 τ[ον καὶ] κατὰ τῆ[ν] πίστιν αὐ-
 τῆς, ὅτι δοῦλη ἐς [τί]ν τοῦ θ[(εο)ῦ
 15 τοῦ ζῶ]ντος, ἵ[να] τὸ ὄν[ομα]
 σου] {ῆ} διὰ παντὸς ῆ δεδ[ο]-
 ξα]μένον. / / /

]	δύναμις			
α]	Ι(ησο)ῦ	Χ(ριστο)ῦ		
ε	πατήρ	υἱ]ός	μήτηρ	[ο
η	]	α	ω	υ
ι	πν(εὐμ)]α	|	ἅγιος	ω
	Αβ]ρα	|	σαξ	
]			

1 l. συμφυλάξῃς 2, 11 l. Βάσσαν 2 further ink at line-end, perhaps offsets
 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 l. φρίκος 6 l. ἡμιτριταίου 8 πυρετου: π σοπ. from λ 9-10 l. λεπτοριγοπυρετίου
 11 l. ἐγγίζω 15 ἴν[19 ἴω, χυ 22 l. ἅγιον

'Guard and protect Bassa from the quotidian chill and from the chill by day and from the double chill and from the semiterian chill and from the nocturnal chill and from the fever and from the slight fever with shivering, and do not allow these things to draw near to Bassa, not at all, in accordance with your will first and in accordance with her faith, because she is a servant of the living God, in order that thy name may be glorified forever (three obliques).

'Power of Jesus Christ! Father, Son, Mother, Holy Spirit. Α-Ω. ΑΒΡΑΣΑΧ. Α Ε Θ Ι Ο Υ Θ.'

1 Cf. 5306 1 n. Plurals are used in that text, but here and in 924, the prayer is addressed to a singular entity.

2 [Β]άσσα. Supplemented on the basis of line 11. A rare name in Egypt: in papyri, it occurs only in P. Herm. Landl. II 113.

3 [φρῖ]κος. See 5306 2 n.

4 ἐπιμερινοῦ. This form occurs only here and in 924 2-3. LSJ records the latter s.v. ἐφημερινός, which is used of fever in [Gal.] *Ur. Comp. Gal.* 3 (xix 617.9 K.); Alex. Tr. *Febr.* 1 (i 291 P.); Leo, *Consp. Med.* 1.15 (p. 103 Ermerins); CCAG VI 78.4, VIII.2 169.23. The meaning is probably the same as that of ἡμερινός, 'by day', on which see Strömberg (5306 2 n.) 76, 86.

5 διδύμου. See 5306 3 n. on δικρότου.

9-10 λεπτοριγο{λεπτοριγο}{λ[ε]πτο}{π[υ]ρέτωνον. The reading of the beginning of 10 is very uncertain. See 5306 13-14 n.

10 καὶ μὴ ἀφῆς. From here on the text corresponds closely enough to 5306 36-end: see the notes on those lines.

11-12 εἰς | ὄλω. It is uncertain whether ν or ς was written at the end. See 5306 22 n.

12-13 κατὰ τὸ θέλημά σου πρῶτ[ον καί]. This phrase, present also in 924 8-9, is omitted in 5306. First of all, 'thy will be done', as in the Lord's Prayer (NT *Eu. Matt.* 6.10). The phrase is commonly found in connection with requests, cf. e.g. Rom. Mel. *Hymn.* 51.18.5-6 Grosdidier (p. 324) τὰς ἡμέρας ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸ θέλημά σου διοίκεσον; [Chrys.] *Proc.* 2 (PG LXIII 926.38-9) κυβέρνησον τὸ ὑπόλοιπόν μου τῆς ζωῆς κ. τ. θ. c.; Barsan. *Resp.* 384.11 (ii.1 428 de Angelis-Noah-Neyt) ἐλέησον με κ. τ. θ. c., 386.74-5 (ibid. 436) ὁδηγῶν με κ. τ. θ. c.; [Jo. Dam.] *BJ* 30.197-8 (p. 315 Volk) κατὰ τὸ σὸν θέλημα εὐθύνον τὰς ὁδοὺς μου. For κατὰ τὸ θέλημα, cf. BDAG s.v. θέλημα 2b sub fin.

19-21 Only three big blobs are preserved near the cross, one above and two on the right. For these blobs, see above on 5306 44-7.

F. MALTOMINI

5308. AMULET

12 1B.142/A(a)

8.7 × 11.7 cm

Late third/early fourth century
Plate VIII

This amulet for Arete, daughter of Ammonous, is written along the fibres on a small sheet of papyrus in an informal hand assignable to the end of the third or rather to the first half of the fourth century: cf. P. Oslo I 1 (pl. I-XIII). The back is blank. The text stops 4 cm short of the foot. The sheet, which is complete on all sides, appears to have been folded five times vertically and three times horizontally. The result would be a rectangle measuring approximately 2 × 3 cm. However, symmetrical damage around the central horizontal fold and

matching worm-holes (notably at *ον* (3) and 7 cm further down) suggest that the papyrus was folded only along that fold when it was disposed of. The magical words are marked by broken overlines. An abbreviation is used at 9, and a supralinear bar may represent *ν* at line-end (1). Diaeresis is found on *ι*.

ῥίγος τριταῖον καὶ ῥιγοπύρετο
 καὶ πᾶσαν νόσον ἀπάλλα-
 ξον ἀπὸ Ἀρέτης, ἣν ἔτεκεν
 Ἀμμωνοῦς, ὅτι δούλη ἐστὶν
 5 τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ Ἰαω
 Καβαωθ Ἀβρασαξ Ἰλαῖλαμ
 Ἰαπνχαλομ Ἰαρεοβαζα-
 γρα. δέσμευε εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν
 βραχίονα ἱερῶ μί(τω) ἀπὸ στολλίς-
 10 ματος ῥάκος καὶ πάνετα καλῶς.

1 ῥιγοπυρετο, l. ῥιγοπύρετον
10 l. πάνετα

8 l. τὸν

9 ἱερωμι-

9-10 l. στολίσματος

'Remove tertian shivering and fever with shivering and every illness from Arete, whom Ammonous bore, because she is the servant of the great god Iað Sabaðth Abrasax Ilaïlam Iapnchalom Iareobazagra. Tie a strip to the right arm with a holy thread from a garment, and it ceases altogether.'

1 ῥίγος τριταῖον καὶ ῥιγοπύρετο (l. -τον). On amulets against fever, see 5306 2 n.

ῥιγοπύρετο, l. -τον. Cf. 8 τό for τόν. For omission of -ν before a stop, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 111-12. The suprascript horizontal above ε may perhaps represent the final ν, though its displacement would be hard to explain. See for this word 5306 2 n.

2-3 ἀπάλλα|ξον. The construction is unusual: in amulets, ἀπαλλάσσω normally takes the accusative of the person to be delivered and (if present) the genitive, with or without ἀπό, of the evil to be removed. Examples are given in Kotansky, *GMA* 52.116-17 n.; add P. Kellis I 86.16-18; P. Prag. II 119.1-2; Delatte-Derchain, *Intailles* 317 no. 461.

3 Ἀρέτης. This name occurs in papyri only in P. Vind. Bosw. 15 (a) v. 4 and P. Mich. V 308.6.

4 ὅτι δούλη ἐστὶν. See 5306 39-40 n.

5-6 Ἰαω | Καβαωθ Ἀβρασαξ. The same in PGM XII 268-9. In gems: e.g. Michel, *MGBM* i 180 no. 288, 181 no. 289, 317 no. 526; Delatte-Derchain, *Intailles* 328 no. 493, where Λαίλαμ follows (see next note). Cf. also 5305 iii 7-8 nn.

6 Ἰλαῖλαμ. A variant of the common Λαίλαμ, corresponding to Hebrew ללעל, 'forever', on which see PGM vol. III (Register) 225 and Kotansky, *GMA* 57.7 n.; Brashear, 'Greek Magical Papyri' 3590; Michel, *MGBM* i 375.

7 Ἰαπνχαλομ. Unattested, so far as I can see. PGM XII 129, 133 χαλαμαν bears a slight resemblance to the ending of the word. -ομ is a common termination in magic words.

7-8 Ἰαρεοβαζα|γρα. We expect Ορεοβαζαγρα, but cf. the form with initial A in PDM XIV

1059 (Betz, *GMPT* 246), and for the initial *I*, cf. 6 *Ιλαΐλαμ* with *n*; *Ἰα-* echoes the preceding word. *Ορειοβαζαγρα* is usually part of the *Maskelli-logos*, on which see the references in LXVIII 4673 31–3 n.

8–10 This is another of the numerous examples of prescriptive phrases erroneously copied from a handbook and intruding into an applied charm. For similar instances, see 5306 16 n.

The structure of the period is typical of prescriptions: an imperative is followed by ‘consecutive’ *καί* (‘and so’). Cf. 5304 ii 27, PGM I 185–6 *λέγε αὐτῶ*: ‘πορεύου κύριε’, *καὶ ἀπελεύσεται*, III 191–2 *χρῶ ... καὶ ἐλεύσεται*, IV 2041–2, 3252–3, VII 349, VIII 88–9, XIII 262–4, LXI 37–8, etc.; see A. D. Nock, *JEA* 15 (1929) 223 n. 6 (= *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* i (1972) 182 n. 36); more generally, Blass–Debrunner–Rehkopf 367 § 442.2(c). In our amulet, the present tense (instead of the usual future) following *καί* emphasizes the certainty and quickness of the result (cf. PGM I 94–5 *λέγε δὲ ... καὶ ἀφανής ἐστιν ὁ θεός*).

δέσμευε ... ῥάκος. The word order is suspicious. I would expect either *δέσμευε ῥάκος εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν βραχίονα ἱερῶ μί(τῳ) ἀπὸ στολλίματος* or *δέσμευε ε. τ. δ. β. ἰ. μ. ῥάκος ἀπὸ στολλίματος*. However, in the text as it stands, *ἀπὸ στολλίματος* is naturally taken with *μί(τῳ)* (cf. PGM IV 331 *μίτῳ ἀπὸ ἱετοῦ*) rather than with *ῥάκος* (cf. PGM IV 1073 (*ῥάκουσ*) *ἀπὸ ὀθονίου*).

8 *δέσμευε*. This verb is not regularly used of tying an amulet to the body.

8–9 *εἰς τὸ* (l. *τὸν*) *δεξιὸν βραχίονα*: for the omission of *-ν*, see I n. For the role of the right side in magic, see the literature in Brashear, *Magica Varia* 43. Cf. 5305 ii 3.

9 *ἱερῶ μί(τῳ)*. The thread is perhaps said to be ‘holy’ because it is taken from a ritual garment (cf. PGM I 278–9 *στολίμασ σεαυτὸν προφητικῶ στήματι*, also IV 933; in PGM VII 227, 231, and VIII 66–7, employment of the black linen garment used in the Isis cult is prescribed, see Betz, *GMPT* 133 n. 16).

9–10 *στολλίματος*, l. *στολίματος*. For gemination of *λ*, cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 155–6.

10 *ῥάκος*. The fabric of the strip was very probably linen, as usually in the magical papyri, see R. Daniel, *ZPE* 19 (1975) 25; R. Kotansky, *Muséon* 105 (1992) 21–2. However, the direction to employ a strip of cloth was not followed: the charm was actually written on papyrus. For a similar case (a piece of linen prescribed but a silver sheet used), cf. Kotansky, loc. cit.

παύετα, l. *-ται*: for *αι* and *α* used interchangeably in final position, cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 194. ‘The illness’ is understood as subject; cf. PGM III 286–7 [70] | *πάθος παύεται*.

παύετα (l. *-ται*) *καλῶς*. Cf. Orig. *Coll. med.* 5.21.4 (CMG VI.1.1 137.1–2) *παύει γὰρ καλῶς τὰς ἀνορέξιασ πινόμενον τὸ ὀμφακόμελι*, *Cartm. de vir. herb.* 68 (GDRK ii 27) *ἀντιάδας ... καλῶς παύει* (vervain), also Gal. *MM* 10.4 (x 683.14 K.) *οὐ παύονται καλῶς οἱ παροξυμοί*; for *καλῶς* in the sense ‘thoroughly, altogether’, see LSJ s.v. *καλός* C.Π.3.

F. MALTOMINI

5309. CHRISTIAN AMULET

100/58(d)

4.3 × 6.9 cm

Fourth century
Plate I

This amulet for Apis, son of Tēsmous, is written along the fibres on a small sheet of papyrus, complete on all sides. The back is blank. A fold runs across the sheet about 1.5 cm below the top, and the papyrus has broken horizontally, no doubt along another fold, about 3 cm above the foot. Apart from the staurogram (12), there is nothing distinctively Christian in the

text. An angelic name (1) is capped by a pair of strokes forming a hairpin, open on the right. There are a few unremarkable errors of orthography. The fourth-century semi-cursive hand is carelessly executed but not inexperienced; cf. PSI XVI 1650 (pl. LII). There are no lectional signs.

Καδεκειηλ,
 παύσον Ἄπιω,
 ἦν ἔτεκεν Τε-
 μοῦς, ἀπὸ παν-
 5 τὸς ῥιγοπυρέ-
 του τριτέου
 τεταρτέου κα-
 θημερινῶ
 καὶ ἀπὸ πά-
 10 σης ἀλγηδό-
 νος, ἦδη ἦδη,
 † ταχὺ ταχύ.

3 l. ὄν 6-7 l. τριταίου τεταρταίου

'Sadekiél, relieve Apis, whom Tésmous bore, from every tertian, quartan, quotidian fever with shivering and from every pain, now now, † quickly quickly.'

1 Καδεκειηλ. The angel of Justice, see Michl, 'Engel' 233-4 no. 214 (Sedekiel); Davidson, *Angels* 324 (Zadkiel).

2ff. παύσον ... ἀπὸ ... The same construction in 5310 4-7, PGM XXXIII 19-20, Suppl. Mag. I 4.6-8, II.10-15, also P. Köln VIII 339.4-6. Contrast the gem SEG LIII 2109.2-7 (= SB XXVIII 1692I(II).5-10) παύσο|ν| τὴν δύς|π|νοίαν τ|[ῆς] φορούς|[ῆ]ς ἢ τοῦ φο|[ρ]οῦντες and the gold phylactery from Forum Fulvii SEG LVI 1116.10-15 τῆς Ἰου|λίας Εὐφη|μίας παύ|σον τὴν | κεφαλαρ|γίαν. On (metrical) charms for 'stopping' diseases, see C. A. Faraone, *GRBS* 49 (2009) 243ff.

2-3 Ἄπιω, | ἦν (l. ὄν). Confusion of gender, see 5305 ii 10 n.

3-4 Τεμοῦς: not attested elsewhere to my knowledge. Cf. perhaps P. Col. IV 1141.2 (mid-III BC)]ν καὶ τὴν Θεμου[.

4ff. On amulets against fever, see 5304 2 n.

5-6 ῥιγοπυρέ|του. See 5306 2 n.

10-11 ἀλγηδό|νος. Not elsewhere in iatromagical amulets.

11-12 ἦδη ἦδη, | ταχὺ ταχύ. For the use of this formula in Christian amulets (cf. 5311 8-9), see Suppl. Mag. I 32.12 n.

12 For the staurogram, see 5312 1 n.

5310. AMULET

17 2B.55/H(e)

10.8 × 7.8 cm

Third century
Plate IX

This small sheet, complete on all sides, preserves along the fibres an amulet for Plousios against shivering. It was folded three times vertically from right to left, with the text on the inside, and then once horizontally, producing a rectangle measuring 2.7 × 4 cm: the smudge at the level of line 8 to the left of the first (rightmost) fold was produced by that fold, and the mirror traces near the lower left-hand corner of the back were produced by the second fold. The short text of the request is preceded by a drawing, and the whole is framed by five 'squares' each composed of three lines of three alphas. The hand may be assigned to the third century, cf. e.g. P. Köln II 94 (pl. IX) of 213. On amulets against fever, see 5306 2 n.

	a a a		a a a
	a a a	<i>drawing</i>	a a a
	a a a		a a a
		παῦσον	
5		Πλούσιος	
		ἀπὸ τοῦ	
	a a a	ῥέτγος.	a a a
	a a a	a a a	a a a
	a a a	a a a	a a a
10		a a a	

5 l. Πλούσιον 7 l. ῥέτγος

'(a-sequences, drawing) Relieve Plousios from shivering. (a-sequences)'

Alpha-squares. For the various formal shapes in which magical words and vowels may be arranged, see R. Gordon in H. F. J. Horstmanshoff et al. (edd.), *Kykeon: Studies in Honour of H. S. Versnel* (2002) 85ff.; A. Mastrocinque, *Kernos* 21 (2008) 97–108. The shape found here was called *πλωθίον*, cf. PGM IV 1305, V 349, 361, VII 656.

Drawing. The figure represents an armless human body with animal head, standing, in profile, facing left, apparently clothed in a short tunic, on which irregular strokes may indicate pleats or some ornament. The head, with open mouth and long ears, is probably that of an ass rather than that of a dog: a stroke descending from the occiput along the neck seems to represent a mane. Seth is thus a better candidate than Anubis. (There is no reason to think of other ass-headed entities, such as the ophitic archon Onoel, see W. Fauth, *OC* 57 (1973) 79–120.) The ass-headed Seth is frequently portrayed in magical papyri: see LXVIII 4673 and the references given at 1–14 n.; add PGM III 70 (vol. i, pl. II, fig. 3); VII 940–51 (vol. ii, pl. I, fig. 3; also Gordon (as above) 101 with 102 fig. 8); Suppl. Mag. II 69; probably O.

Monts. Roca inv. 1472 (ed. R. Martín Hernández and S. Torallas Tovar, *ZPE* 189 (2014) 175–84 at 180); doubtful: SEG XLVII 1291 (Jordan, NGCT 51). Usually, as expected, he is depicted in contexts of malign magic. There is also, however, a positive tradition that shows Seth as a protective god (see D. Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance* (1998) 112–15; P. J. Turner, *Seth—A Misrepresented God in the Ancient Egyptian Pantheon?* (2013) 63–4); and in some uterine amulet gems the god clearly has the function of threatening the illness (see Bonner, *SMA* 84; Michel, *MGBM* i 239–40 no. 379). The same may be assumed for our papyrus. For Seth-Typhon in general, see 5305 ii 21 n. As for Anubis (a less probable identification, as noted above), his role is generally positive (see Delatte–Derchain, *Intailles* 89ff.), and he is frequently represented in medical amulet gems (see Bonner, *SMA* 79, 81, 87, 89, 95, and cf. PDM XIV 595, a Demotic spell against a sting, in Betz, *GMPT* 228). In any case, the absence of the arms, unless due to the scribe's carelessness, is difficult to explain: Anubis is often portrayed in mummy form, but the present drawing certainly does not represent a mummy.

4–7 παύσον ... ἀπό ... For the construction, see 5309 2ff. n.

7 ῥέγγος, l. ῥίγγος. The minimal gap between o and c could not accommodate υ. For neuter nouns in -ος with genitive singular also in -ος, cf. 5306 2 φρίκος with n.; for genitive singular ῥίγγος in particular, cf. Suppl. Mag. I 18.9, 19.18.

F. MALTOMINI

5311. CHRISTIAN AMULET

12 1B.144/H(a)

4.7 × 7.1 cm

Fifth century
Plate III

This amulet for Menas, son of Theonilla, is written along the fibres on a scrap of papyrus that is complete on all sides. The upper edge was folded down, causing offsets of the magical symbols (2). Then the rest was folded up, starting at the foot, with the text on the inside, resulting in offsets on the back; a total of eight horizontal folds can be recognized. Finally the papyrus was folded vertically three times. In its folded state, the papyrus would have measured approximately 1.5 × 1 cm.

The small, rapidly written hand can be assigned to the fifth century: cf. PSI XII 1239 (*Scrivere libri e documenti* no. 146, pl. CXXXVI) of 430 and SB XVI 12486 (Harrauer, *Paläographie* no. 231, pl. 216) of 470. The writing of the lower part (6–9) is somewhat different in appearance from that of the upper part: in particular, η is H-shaped in 3–4 but h-shaped in 6 and 8. However, it does not seem necessary to suppose that more than one hand has contributed. Initial ε is given a diaeresis.

†
† caractères εβ.ε.ρ
βοήθῃσον, θεράπευ(σον),
ἵασαι Μηνᾶν, ὄν
5 ἔτεκεν Θεονίλα,

ἀπὸ πάσης ὀδύνης
καὶ σπαραγμοῦ,
ἤδη ἤδη, ταχύ
ταχύ. // †††

3 θεραπευ 4 ἱασαι 5 l. Θεονίλλα

'(Two crosses, caractères) Ebear. Help, cure, heal Menas, whom Theonilla bore, from every pain and convulsion, now now, quickly quickly (two obliques, three staurograms).'

1-2, 9 For the use of crosses, staurograms, and christograms in Christian amulets, see 5312 I n.

2 On *caractères*, see 5304 32 n. For Christian amulets containing magical signs, cf. e.g. PGM P II, Suppl. Mag. I 20, 21, 23, 27, 32; Kotansky, *GMA* 45, 65, 66; SEG LVIII 1100, 1463.

εβερ. This magical word does not occur elsewhere to my knowledge. For the presence of magical words in Christian amulets, see 5306 47 n.

3-4 For imperatives of synonymous verbs in asyndeton, see 5304 8 n.

3 βοήθησον. The 'help'-imperative is common especially in Christian amulets, see Bonner, *SMA* 46, 180; Kotansky, *GMA* 52.119-20 n.; *Lamella Bernensis* 125.

θεράπει(σιν). Kotansky, *GMA* pp. 381-2, lists the examples (add P. Monts. Roca IV 62.3 (v-vi)), rightly observing that 'the imperative of *θεραπεύω* used of God who heals sickness ... is with very few exceptions restricted to Christian amulets' (381).

6 ἀπὸ πάσης ὀδύνης. Cf. 5306 15.

7 σπαραγμοῦ. Not elsewhere in iatromagical amulets. The sense here is 'convulsion, spasm': see LSJ s.v. II. The word occurs not infrequently together with ὀδύνη: cf. Plut. *Mor.* 831B, Bas. *Hom. ii in Ps.* xiv 4 (PG XXIX 277A), *Mor.* 5.6 (PG XXXII 1177B), etc.; also Soph. *Trach.* 777-8 διώδυνος σπαραγμός. However, in the light of the use of *σπαράσσω* in the sense 'convulse, of an evil spirit' in NT *Ev. Marc.* 1.26 (LSJ s.v. 4b; cf. *Cyril.* 2.10.3-4 (p. 133 K.). εἰς οὖν σπαρῆ ἐπιληπτικὸς καὶ πέση χαμαὶ ἢ σκοτωματικὸς ἢ ἀποπληξία λάβη τινὰ καὶ κείται ὑπτίος ὁ ἄνθρωπος σπαραττόμενος κτλ.), I would not exclude here a reference to an epileptic convulsion. For amulets against epilepsy, see 5306 4 n.

8-9 ἤδη ἤδη, ταχύ ταχύ: see 5309 II-12 n.

F. MALTOMINI

5312. CHARITÉSION

105/157(b)

8.7 × 14.4 cm

Sixth century
Plate VIII

This applied charm is written along the fibres on a small sheet. It is intact at the top and on the left but severely damaged in the lower part, especially on the right. The sheet was folded up from left to right, and the right-hand edge folded inwards, leaving seven clear vertical folds. The ink was still wet when the folding was carried out. As a result, there are offsets to the right of the long line 3 on the front, and numerous offsets on the back near the right-hand side, but these are of no help in establishing the text: the most legible are on the rightmost panel on the

back, corresponding to the third panel from the left on the front, of which the text is in any case for the most part legible. There is some suggestion of horizontal folds, for example 3.3 cm from the top, but these are less clear.

The text is written with a crudely cut pen in a coarse, rounded, small, upright, roughly bilinear hand. Ligatures are absent. Characteristic letters are *a* with round loop open at the top, semicircular *ε* composed of two semicircles open on the right, h-shaped *η*, *λ* with the left leg extended downwards, *μ* in one movement, *π* with both legs turning right at the foot, v-shaped *ν*, and *φ* sometimes with a looped top. Cf. P. Athen. Xyla 10 of 543, and PSI I 16 (*GBEPP* 34c) and P. Berol. 13262 + 21228 (*GBEPP* 35b), both assigned to the second half of the sixth century.

5312 is a 'charm to win favour' (see 5305 iii 4 n.). Christian *χαριτήσια* are uncommon: an isolated case is PGM P 21.20–21, to which the fragmentary P. Kramer 2 appears to be similar. The first part of the charm (1–21) is a list of angelic names, each of whom, except the last, is accompanied by an indication (through the constant formula *ὁ ἐπί* with the genitive) of his specific sphere of influence (heavenly bodies, natural elements, or things connected with human life). Each entry occupies a new line, and so the lines are of different lengths. The start of the amulet is odd: after a first line consisting of a sequence of twelve crosses, the catalogue begins with Michael (2) and Raphael (3) and their appointed realms, but then it breaks off and, following a line with a cross at the start, it begins all over again from Michael, this time proceeding to the end. The letters in lines 2–3 are roughly twice as large as those in the rest of the text, but hand, ink, and pen seem to be the same. The reason for all this escapes me. Perhaps the writer realized that the sheet would not accommodate the whole text copied in letters as large as those of lines 2–3; but why start afresh?

The last angel's name is probably followed immediately by the request (21 n.), and from here to the end, the text runs continuously. In the light of line 21, one may wonder whether the preceding list is to be interpreted as purely enumerative (in the nominative) or rather as a series of apostrophes (in the vocative). The final lines (26–32) are gravely lacunose and no continuous sense can be recovered. The text stops 2.7 cm short of the lower edge.

Catalogues of angels are widely documented. R. Kotansky in his re-edition of a silver amulet from Beirut (*GMA* 52; cf. SEG XLIX 1991) lists many of them, to which one can add A. Kropp, *Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte* (1930–31) i R 2.4–3.5 (pp. 64–5; tr. ii 177; comm. iii 74–6 §§ 131–3, 78 § 137), S 80–121 (pp. 80–81; tr. ii 250); *Apoc. En.* 20 (p. 32 Black); and Pradel, *GSG* 18.3ff. Kotansky shows how these catalogues, although not matching each other, were in some ways connected. Among the extant ones, 5312 shows some affinity to Kropp (as above), R 2.4–3.5: the first six angels, except the fourth, are the same, and of the sixteen angelic spheres of influence in our list, certainly seven, and probably nine have correspondences in the Coptic catalogue (sun 2 (5) - 11, Powers 7 - 4 and 6, stars 10 - 10, help 12 - 9, fruits 15 - 15, sea 16 - 17, rains 18 - 18; those who hear 8 - 7, tribunals 14 - 13). Order and ruling angels, however, are generally different, but see 7 n.

There are no lectional signs. The scribe makes some phonetic mistakes.

† † † † † † † † † † † † †

Μιχαηλ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡλίου

Ραφαηλ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς κελήνης

†

5 Μιχαηλ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡλίου

Ραφαηλ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς κελήνης

Γαβρ{ρ}ιηλ ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν δυνάμεων

Σαμαηλ ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπακουόντων

Ουριηλ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρός

10 Νιφαηλ ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄστρων

Ἐκοφαηλ ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑγρῶν

Ἡλιηλ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς βοθητίας

Νιμιηλ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς εὐπροσωπίας

Ἡραηλ ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν κριτηρείων

15 Μιαηλ ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν καρπῶν

Φανηλ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης

Ἡραηλ ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀνέρων

Ἡχαηλ ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὄμβρων

Νιφαηλ ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐσεβιῶν

20 Θιεμαβ ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν βραθῶτων

Ἀβραηλ, χαρ. γ. θαβιο[. . .].

τὸν Ἰωάννην, ὃν ἔτεκεν [

Μίκη, τὸν φοροῦντα, πᾶσαν [

καὶ πᾶς[α]ν δύνα[μιν καὶ] πᾶς[αν

25 χάριν κ[α]ὶ πᾶσαν εὐ[πρα]κσίαν [

ουτυχω εἰς πάντα νουλε[

. . . εμ . . . κ . . . αἰς αὐτὸν [

κηθη τεαγγελ[

μήτε [] . εδεμ[

30 ἀπὸ τῆς [] καιος[

. . [] . [] τησδι[

. . [] . ω . [] . αδω . [

12 l. βοθητίας

13 l. εὐπροσωπίας

14 l. κριτηρίων

16 l. θαλάσσης

17 l. ὀνέρων

18 l. ὄμβρων

19 l. εὐσεβιῶν

23 l. Μίκη

25 l. εὐπραξίαν

30 της read in the archive photograph, now lost

† † † † † † † † † † † †

'Michaël, the one in charge of the sun

'Raphaël, the one in charge of the moon

†

'Michaël, the one in charge of the sun

'Raphaël, the one in charge of the moon

'Gabriël, the one in charge of the powers

'Samaël, the one in charge of those who hear

'Ouriël, the one in charge of the fire

'Niphaël, the one in charge of the stars

'Ekophaël the one in charge of the liquids

'Éliël, the one in charge of the help

'Nimiël, the one in charge of good appearance

'Éraël, the one in charge of the tribunals

'Miaël, the one in charge of the fruits

'Phaniël, the one in charge of the sea

'Éraël, the one in charge of the dreams

'Échaël, the one in charge of the rains

'Niphaël, the one in charge of the pieties

'Thiemab, the one in charge of the sheep (?)

'Abraël, give ... to Johannes, whom Mikke bore, the wearer, all ... and all power and all <?> favour and all success ...'

1 For a Christian amulet beginning with a long series of crosses, cf. *Suppl. Mag.* I 35. It is probably significant that there are twelve; as the number of the apostles, the number twelve has always been favoured in Christian symbolism (see e.g. B. Lorenz in id. (ed.), *Bibliothek und Philologie: Festschrift für Hans-Jürgen Schubert zum 65. Geburtstag* (2005) 58–89 at 67). These crosses are the only clear Christian feature of this text, unless something significant is hidden or lost in the damaged final part. Christian amulets from Egypt bearing crosses, staurograms, and christograms are easily found through the list given by T. S. de Bruyn and J. H. F. Dijkstra, *BASP* 48 (2011) 184–215. For the apotropaic power of the cross, see e.g. C. A. Faraone, *Vanishing Acts on Ancient Greek Amulets* (2012) 14 n. 43.

2ff. The catalogue, at least at first, is arranged in hierarchical order: the first three figures are the standard archangelic triad (see 5306 7–8 n.), and among them Michael occupies the pre-eminent position. The archangel Uriel also comes near the beginning (9).

2–3, 5–6. For the repetition of these two lines, see introd.

2 and 5 Michael is traditionally connected with the planet Mercury, while authority over the sun is usually assigned to Raphael (cf. Michl, 'Engel' 252); however, our papyrus is not an isolated exception, see Michl 247. In A. Kropp, *Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte* (1930–31) i R 2.11 (p. 64), the angel ruling over the sun is Asentael. Other angels who are given authority over the sun are indicated in Davidson, *Angels* 44.

3 and 6 The connection Raphael-moon is unusual: traditionally, it is Gabriel who is appointed over the moon (see Michl, 'Engel' 240), while Raphael is in charge of the sun (see previous n.). Other angels of the moon: Davidson, *Angels* 37.

7 Γαβρ{ρ}ιηλ: for the gemination of ρ, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 157. The same association between Gabriel and the Powers (to be interpreted as one of the orders of the celestial hierarchy, cf. Lampe s.v. δύναιμι VII.A.5; LSJ s.v. VI; *DGE* s.v. A.I.5a) occurs in Kropp (2 n.) R 2.6 (p. 64; see ii p. 177, iii 75 §

132). Angels of the Powers: *Apoc. En.* 20.1 (p. 32 Black); Davidson, *Angels* 227.

8 *Σαμαηλ*. See Michl, 'Engel' 231 no. 196; Davidson, *Angels* 255. The catalogue of angels in R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* (1904) 297, includes *Σαμαηλ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ*.

The meaning of ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπακουόντων is not obvious. Note, however, that in Kropp (2 n.) *R* 2.7, the angel Arnael (listed immediately after Gabriel, like Samael in our papyrus) is appointed over 'die Erhörung' (tr., ii 177). If, as is probable (see introd.), there is some connection between the two texts, then οἱ ἐπακούοντες may be the celestial entities who hear and answer the prayers of men. Alternatively, the expression may indicate 'obedient' men.

9 For the archangel Uriel, see Michl, 'Engel' 254–8; Davidson, *Angels* 298–9; M. Mach in K. van der Toorn et al. (edd.), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (1999) s.v. Here the name and function are a perfect match, since Uriel means 'Flame, light of God' or 'God is (my) light' (Kotansky, *GMA* 33.2–4 n., 41.37 n.). For many other angels of fire, see Davidson, *Angels* 29.

10 *Νιφαηλ* (also at CCAG XII 162.12) is in all likelihood identical with *Νεφαιλ* in Kropp (2 n.) *R* 2.9, who occupies the same (sixth) position in the list, although ruling over a different sphere (ΤΒΟΗΘΙΑ). The name occurs again in 19 (*Ηραηλ* is also listed twice, 14 and 17). Similar repetitions are present also in the catalogue of angels in Reitzenstein (8 n.) 297, where Uriel and Samuel are mentioned twice. Are they intentional or mistaken?

In Kropp (2 n.) *R* 2.10, it is Akentael who rules over the stars. Angel of the stars: Davidson, *Angels* 44.

11 The angel's name *Εκοφαηλ* is not attested elsewhere, as far as I can see. Angels of the waters: Davidson, *Angels* 46.

12 *Ηλιηλ*. See Michl, 'Engel' 211 no. 71; Davidson, *Angels* 104. For the meaning of the name, see also Kotansky, *GMA* 33.4 n.

ἐπὶ τῆς βοηθίας (l. βοηθείας). In Kropp (2 n.) *R* 2.9, 'Help' is the realm of Naphael.

13 *Νιμηηλ*. I do not know of any other occurrences of this angel name.

ἐπὶ τῆς εὐπροσωπίας (l. -σωπίας: for ω > ο, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 276–7). 'Fair appearance' or the like does not occur as an angelic realm in other surviving ancient catalogues. εὐπροσωπία is not a common word (D. H. 3.11.3; BGU VIII 1787.12 (64–44 BC); Antiatt. ε 24–5 (pp. 156–7 Valente)), but εὐπρόσωπος and cognates are familiar.

14 *Ηραηλ* is probably the same as *Ηρηλ* in Kropp (2 n.) *R* 2.14, there in charge of the 'water' (see ii 177). He is listed again in 17 (on these repetitions, see above, 10 n.).

ἐπὶ τῶν κριτηρείων (l. -ρίων). Cf. Reitzenstein (8 n.) 296 *Μιχαήλ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ κριτηρίου*, 297 *Κρίτιμος ἐπὶ κριτηρίου*. In the light of these texts, ΚΡΗΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ in Kropp (2 n.) *R* 2.13 is probably to be interpreted as κριτήριον and not as κρατήριον 'Mischkrug' (see ii 177, iii 75 § 132) or χρηστήριον (ii 194). In our papyrus, the plural seems to indicate secular tribunals rather than the divine court of judgement.

15 *Μιαηλ*. See Davidson, *Angels* 196 (Mihael), and cf. SEG XLIX 2383.33 *Μιηηλ*, PGM IV 1816 *Μισαηλ* (on which see E. Peterson, *RhM* 75 (1926) 407 (no. 74)).

ἐπὶ τῶν καρπῶν. Authority over the fruits is attributed to Phanuel in Kropp (2 n.) *R* 2.15 (see ii 177), to Uriel *ibid.* S 88–9 (ii 250), and to Saraphuel *ibid.* 94–6 (ii 250). Other angels in charge of the fruits: Davidson, *Angels* 30.

16 *Φανηλ*. Cf. P. Pintaudi II fr. 2 + b.3; Michel, *MGBM* i 315 no. 522 *Φ(α)νηηλ*; Delatte, *AA* 447.5 *Φανιελ*; Kotansky, *GMA* 38.2 *Φαναηλ*. He is considered to be the same as the well-known Phanuel, on whom see Michl, 'Engel' 226 no. 167, Davidson, *Angels* 224; in Pradel, *GSG* 18.11–12, he is the angel τοῦ ἐμπυρισμοῦ. Cf. also *Φαναηλ* in SEG L 1014 A.4 and 1017 A.4.

ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης (l. θαλάσσης: for the simplification of sibilants, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 158–9). In

Kropp (2 n.) R 2.17, the sea is the realm of Akrael, in Kotansky, *GMA* 52.46–7, of Souriel (see n.). Angel of the Sea: Davidson, *Angels* 42.

17 *Ηραηλ* was listed already in 14.

ἐπὶ τῶν ὀνείρων (l. ὀνείρων: for εἰ > ε before a liquid, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 259). I have not found 'dreams' in other lists of angels. Angel of dreams: Davidson, *Angels* 27.

18 *Ηχαηλ*. This angel-name is unknown to me, but cf. *Χαηλ* in the catalogue Kotansky, *GMA* 52.28.

ἐπὶ τῶν ὄμβρων (l. ὄμβρων: for the omission of μ before a labial stop, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 117). Cf. Kropp (2 n.) R 2.18 (tr. ii 177): '[...]ilael, gesetzt über die Regenwasser'; Reitzenstein (8 n.) 297 *Σαμουηλ ἐπὶ ὕετου καὶ χαλάζης*. Angel of Rain: Davidson 41.

19 *Νιφαηλ* is already listed in 10, see n.

20 *Θιεμαβ*. Unknown to me.

βραθατων: only θ is questionable, the cross-bar being oddly high, but a different reading is not at hand. I am at a loss with this. Perhaps a miswriting for *προβάτων* (cf. Reitzenstein (8 n.) 297 *Ῥαγουήλ, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν βοῶν καὶ τῶν προβάτων καὶ τῶν αἰγιδίων*, Pradel, *GSG* 18.3 τὸν ἄγγελον τῶν βοῶν καὶ τῶν προβάτων)?

21ff. The last visible trace in 21 (top of an upright) is close to the left-hand edge of a small gap one letter wide, after which the papyrus is blank (except for some offsets). The length of the following lines cannot be verified because of the loss of the right-hand part of the papyrus, and one can only presume that they were roughly as long as 21. This causes some uncertainty about the quantity of text lost in the lacuna.

21 *Αβραηλ*. See Michl, 'Engel' 202 no. 3; cf. Delatte–Derchain, *Intailles* 28 no. 10, 320 no. 469; F. M. and J. H. Schwartz, 'Engraved Gems in the Collection of the American Numismatic Society: 1: Ancient Magical Amulets', *ANSMusN* 24 (1979) 149–98, at 196 no. 68; Davidson, *Angels* 4.

χαρ ν: the penultimate letter may be α. I expect *χάρνισον* but reading and spacing are both difficult.

... *θαβιφ* [.] . I am not sure how to treat this. I have considered restoring the personal name *Παθάβιφιν* (P. Mich. IV 224 xlii 1796), but the difficult traces before θ do not seem favourable (perhaps rather φα?), and in any case we do not expect a name here when τὸν Ἰωάννην stands at the beginning of the next line.

22–3 δὲ ἔτεκεν [| *Μίκη* (l. *Μίκκη*: for simplification of κκ, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 160). The sense is complete and usually the mother's name comes immediately after ἔτεκεν. If, however, something has been lost in the lacuna, which could hold up to five or six letters (see above, 21ff. n.), I can imagine only two possibilities for the end of 22: (i) *μήτηρ*, cf. e.g. *Suppl. Mag.* I 45.30 ... *Θέωνι, φ̄ ἔτεκεν μήτηρ Προεχία*, 48.7, 10, etc.; *SEG* XLII 1582.32, XLIX 2383.51, LIX 1714.16, 22, 24, etc.; (ii) a (very short) name followed by ἡ καὶ (cf. *PGM P* 5b.11–13, 30–32 ... *Ἰωαννίαν, ἣν ἔτεκεν Ἀναστασία ἡ καὶ Εὐφημία*; *SEG* LXI 1384 A.9–10, B.10; I. Klaudiupolis 9 iii 18–19, v 2–3).

23 τὸν φοροῦντα. The absolute use of the participle of *φορέω* is typical, cf. e.g. *PGM* VII 924 δὲ νίκην ... τῷ φοροῦντι, *P* 5d.5, 15b.10, 17.16, *Suppl. Mag.* I 15.7, 29.6–7, 30.4, etc., Kotansky, *GMA* 48.14–15. Of course, in many other cases the object is expressed, cf. e.g. *PGM P* 10.5, 22, 45, 18.12–14 ἰαζ[α]ι τῆν | φοροῦσαῖ τοῦτο τὸ θεῖον | φυλακτήριον, *Suppl. Mag.* I 2.8–9 (= Kotansky, *GMA* 59), II 64.5–7 (= Kotansky, *GMA* 60), Kotansky, *GMA* 58.36–7. Other examples can be found in *Lamella Bernensis* 82–3 and, for gems, rings, and the like, in A. van den Hoek et al., 'Lucky Wearers: A Ring in Boston and a Greek Epigraphic Tradition of Late Roman and Byzantine Times', *Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts* 6 (1994) 41–62. Usually ὁ φορῶν or ἡ φοροῦσα is not mentioned by name as here, but cf. *Suppl. Mag.* I 23.7–9, 34 A.9–10; Kotansky, *GMA* 33.21–3, 58.35–6; *SEG* XLVI 1726 II.1–4, XLIX 2383.49–50, 52–3, LIII 1110.10–11.

πᾶσαν [: many supplements are possible: δόξαν, ἰσχύν, μορφήν, νίκην, τιμήν, τύχην, φιλίαν, and others. For a survey of the favours requested in χαριτήσια, see Kotansky, *GMA*, pp. 358–9; P. Kramer 2.7–8 n.

24 δύνα[μιν. 'Power' in χαριτήσια and similar charms: PGM IV 1617–18, VII 924, XXXV 25, XXXVI 224; Kotansky, *GMA* 58.37–8, 44; gems: Michel, *MGBM* i 27 no. 42; C. A. Faraone, *ZPE* 172 (2010) 218–19; see Bonner, *SMA* 49, 177.

πᾶσ[αν. Apparently this line was shorter (if πᾶσ[αν modifies 25 χάριον) or longer (if πᾶσ[αν was followed by a substantive + καὶ πᾶσαν) than the other lines are assumed to have been (see above, 21ff. n.).

25 χάριον: see 5305 iii 10 n.

εὐ[πρα]κσίαν, l. εὐπραξίαν (for ξ > κς, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 139). The word occurs also in the χαριτήσιον Suppl. Mag. II 64.4 (= Kotansky, *GMA* 60, see n.). πρᾶξις is more frequent in the same sense 'success': PGM IV 2366, 3165, VII 215, VIII 36, 62, XII 103, 105, 202, P 21.20.

26 ουτυχω. I cannot explain this. οὐ (?) τυχεῖν? But governed by what? Is -ου the genitive ending of a noun? One might consider taking τυχήν (l. τυχεῖν) to be governed by 21 χάριον (if that is really the intended word, see n.) and interpreting 'grant that John may meet with all <?> and with all power (etc.) from God (?)' (25–6 e.g. ἐκ (παρὰ) θε[ι]οῦ). (For χαρίζω governing an infinitive, see LSJ s.v. II.1.a; the person is normally in the dative, but cf. PGM P 9.28–9 χάριον | ἐμέ, τὸν δοῦλόν σου, τὸ φῶς; for τυγχάνω with the accusative of the thing, especially in later Greek, see LSJ s.v. τυγχάνω B.II.2.b.) But the difficulties of this interpretation are self-evident. In χαριτήσια and similar charms, one often asks for ἐπιτυχία 'good fortune', 'success' (cf. PGM IV 1669–70, 1684–5, VII 392, XII 202, XXXVI 46, 224 (see P. Oslo I 1.224 n.); Bonner, *SMA* 49), but this is far from what is written.

εἰς πάντα: 'in respect of (?) everything'?

28 κηθῆ: ἀδι|κηθῆ?

πρῶτε ἀγ(γ)ελε? Cf. Suppl. Mag. II 97 → 5 with n.

29 μήτε οἱ μή τε-?

32 I|αω C[αβαω]θ Αδων[αι]?

F. MALTOMINI

5313. CHRISTIAN AMULET

73/69(b)

4.9 × 6.3 cm

Fifth century
Plate VIII

A small sheet, with five lines of text running along the fibres. The text extends to the foot of the sheet and the margins on the other sides are narrow (about 3–6 mm wide). There are three folds parallel to the shorter side and one half-way across parallel to the longer side. When folded up, the sheet would have measured approximately 2.4 × 3.2 cm. On the back, four panels are produced by the three folds running parallel to the shorter side, and a simple design has been drawn on each of the inner panels. The blank outer panels may have been folded inwards first, to protect the edges, before the package was folded in half along a line parallel to the shorter side, and then in half again along a line parallel to the longer side. In that case, when the final fold was relaxed, the design would appear on both exposed panels.

The hand is unskilled and somewhat irregular; letters are written separately for the most

part. Cf. e.g. the horoscope XVI 2060 of 478.

The text consists of a series of Christian phrases and symbols. It falls into two halves, written above (1–2) and below (3–5) the central fold. For other Christian amulet papyri consisting of short formulas, cf. e.g. 5314, Suppl. Mag. I 27 (v), PGM XXVc (vi). Christian acclamations and symbols are also widely attested in gem and metal amulets; see J. Spier, *Late Antique and Early Christian Gems* (2007) 29–39, 81–6; Bonner, *SMA* 174–5, 208–28.

εἰς θεός·
ἀμήν.
Εἰεκοῦ
Χριστοῦ.
5 † Α † Ω †

1 l. θεός 3 l. Ἰησοῦ

'One God: amen. Jesus Christ's. † Α † Ω †'

1 εἰς θεός; 1. θεός. For the interchange of ο and ω, cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 275–7. The formula is found in the papyrus amulets P. Monts. Roca IV 62.2 and Suppl. Mag. I 33.2 (both v–vi); cf. P. Köln VIII 340 a fr. A.1 n, fr. B.17 n. It stands at the beginning of the anaphora and at both the beginning and the end of the thanksgiving prayer in the fourth-century Barcelona codex (P. Monts. Roca inv. 154b.1, 155b.1, 18; cf. M. Zheltov, *VChr* 62 (2008) 483–6). There is also an example on the back of the order VII 1056 of 360. The acclamation is common in inscriptions, especially in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, from the third century onwards; see E. Peterson and C. Marksches, *Heis Theos* (2012).

2 ἀμήν. For ἀμήν in amulets, cf. e.g. Suppl. Mag. I 23.1–4 with n.; P. Pintaudi II fr. a + b.3; Brashear, *Magica Varia* 69; T. S. de Bruyn and J. H. F. Dijkstra, *BASP* 48 (2011) 181 with n. 103. It often follows εἰς θεός in inscriptions, particularly in funerary *stelai*: e.g. Lefebvre, *Recueil* 465, 476, 502, 566, 679; I. Pal. Tertia Ia 150 (436), 164 (440), 176 (444).

3–4 Εἰεκοῦ Χριστοῦ; 1. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. For the spelling Εἰεκοῦ, cf. P. Rain. Unterricht 71.1 (vi–vii); SEG XXXVIII 1790 (Egypt, iv); on εἰ for ι and ε for η, cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 189–91, 242–7. The genitives Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Ἰησοῦ, and Χριστοῦ are found on many gems; see Spier, *Late Antique and Early Christian Gems* 29–30, who notes (30) that most examples are 'thought to have come from Asia Minor or Syria', and suggests that '(servant) of Jesus Christ' is probably intended.

5 † Α † Ω †. The same is found at the end of an amulet in BKT VI 7.1 23 (P. Berol. 6096; v–vi). The Christian symbol alpha-omega, often in combination with the name of Christ, crosses, or the staurogram, is widely attested, not infrequently on amulets; see 5306 45 n. P. Köln inv. 521 a (ed. D. Wortmann, *BfJ* 168 (1968) 106), assigned to the sixth century, has at the top three crosses in a row, at the foot (9–10) † Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστοῦ)ς † | † βοήθεια †, and in between, seven alpha-omega pairs arranged over two columns. Cf. also e.g. CIIP III 2484 (450), an inscription on a tombstone which begins with a row of three crosses, with α and ω inscribed below the arms of the middle cross.

L. TAGLIAPIETRA

5314. CHRISTIAN AMULET

105/51(a)

10.3 × 6.1 cm

Fifth century
Plate III

A small sheet with one line of text running across the fibres, slightly less than half-way down. The left-hand margin is 1.2 cm wide, the right-hand margin 2.2 cm wide, and the upper margin 1.6 cm deep. The back is blank. The papyrus was folded vertically once down the middle, then rolled up from top to bottom and crushed.

The hand is a sloping majuscule comparable to those of *GBEBP* 15 and 16.

The text consists of a personal name, presumably the owner's, followed by a familiar Christian acclamation, with crosses on either side and between the two parts. Four overlines are added to the acclamation, the first two of which indicate a *nomen sacrum*. Another Christian amulet with a single line of text written across the fibres is P. CtYBR inv. 4710 (ed. B. Nongbri, *HTHR* 104 (2011) 64–8), assigned to the fifth or sixth century. For such amulets in general, cf. 5313 introd.

† Φιβ. † Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς νικᾷ. †

ιϛ χϛ νι κα

‘† Phib. † Jesus Christ is victorious. †’

Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς νικᾷ. This acclamation appears in papyrus amulets at the beginning and end of Suppl. Mag. I 25 (v), where see 1 n., and at the end of BKT X 27 (vi). In each of those texts, there is an explicit request for healing (Suppl. Mag. I 25.7–9 ἵασι Γ]εννατία, τῆν | δούλην σου; BKT X 27.3–4 ἵασι τῶν | φαρδὸν(τα)). Cf. also P. Erl. 56.1 (vii–viii) as interpreted by L. Berkes, *Tyche* 26 (2011) 290; SB XXVIII 16988.1 (wooden tablet, v?). The formula is common in epigraphic sources: cf. e.g. in funerary inscriptions Lefebvre, *Recueil* 58, 513; I. Pal. Tertia Ib 66 (508); in other contexts: SB I 1943 (a clay jar-stopper from Oxyrhynchus); SEG XXXII 1573 (dipinti in a funerary chamber, Alexandria, v–vi); XXXIV 1503, XXXV 1557(b) (cave graffiti, Palestine, vi); IGLS XXI.2 129 (on a tank, vi); XXI.4 76 (graffito in a hermitage, v–vi).

For νι κα with superfluous overlines in this formula, cf. G. Kiourtzian, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes des Cyclades* (2000) no. 5 (v–vi); IG II² 13311 (Athens, v–vi); CIG 9074. In those inscriptions, as often, the four letter-pairs form the corners of a square, and the overlines may have been added for the sake of symmetry.

L. TAGLIAPIETRA

5315. STERCORACEOUS MEDICAL RECIPES

50 4B.30/G(t) back

19.1 × 29.5 cm

Early fourth century
Plate V

Parts of two columns, written across the fibres on the back of 5304. Of the first, only some line-ends remain, while all 27 lines of the second are preserved in part. Col. ii measures 11 × 24.3 cm. The upper margin is 2 cm and the lower 2.5 cm high; the intercolumnium is about 2.7 cm wide. The surface was already somewhat damaged when the text was written: see i 4ff., 19, ii 4–6 nn.

The text is copied in a clear, informal, small, round, upright hand. Letters are usually made separately, but *α* forms a ligature with *ι*, and *ε* with *ι* and the upright of *ρ*. The script is very roughly bilinear, but *ρ*, *υ*, *φ*, *ψ*, and *ι* in ligature usually send down very long straight descenders, while *β*, *φ*, and *ψ* protrude above. Some letters are variable in shape: *α* usually has a rounded loop but is similar to a *λ* at ii 1, 13, and probably 17; *ξ* both cursive and of book-hand type (ii 15); *υ* commonly in three strokes with a very long vertical, but also in two strokes combining the shank with the right arm in a straight line or cursorily in one movement; the arms of *κ* are sometimes detached from the vertical. The cap of *ε* is frequently extended as a filler at line-end; so too at i 23 the cross-bar of *ε* and at ii 8 the lower branch of *κ*, flattened to give a long horizontal. Many elements suggest a date around 300, probably in the early fourth century. H. Maehler and G. Messeri (*per litt.*) both independently compare P. Herm. 6 (pl. V) of c.317–23; cf. also P. Charite 13 col. ii (pl. X) of 325 and PSI XVI 1628 (pl. XXXIV) of 314–24.

Paragraphi separate the entries. No accents, breathings, or apostrophes are used. Diaeresis is found on initial *ι* and *υ*. There are some minor phonetic errors.

5315 is a particular kind of medical text: it contains a series of short prescriptions regarding a certain substance derived from various kinds of birds (or rather 'winged creatures': beetle and bat are included). Each entry takes up one or two lines; where a second line is required, it is indented. To judge from col. ii, the prescriptions have a consistent format. The name of the animal stands at the beginning, in the genitive, and sometimes followed by *μετά* with the name of a liquid in the genitive. In some cases, a present participle passive follows, indicating how the remedy is to be administered. Finally, the use of the remedy is indicated. This last component can have one of three forms: (a) *πρός* with the name of a condition or the persons suffering from it in the accusative (3, 8–9, 13, 15, 18, 20, 21, 24, 26, 27); (b) the name of a condition or the persons suffering from it in the accusative followed by a verb (*παύει*: 5, 7, 10, 23; *καταψύχει*: 6; *ἐξάιρει*: 12; *αἶρει*: 14); (c) a substantive (16, 17) or adjective (22, 25) in the nominative. What little remains of col. i suggests that its text was similarly organized: see however i 10, 17 nn. There is some evidence that the compiler may have drawn on a list alphabetized by initial letter: cf. ii 6–7 (*γ*), 13–15 (*ι*), 18–19 (*κ*), 21–2 (*χ*), 24–5(?) (*α*).

The substance in question is used in an unguent, or a potion, or burnt for fumigation, and its name is feminine, cf. ii 4, 16, 22, 25. Its identity is not stated in our fragment. However, some very close parallels (see ii 4–5, 16, 20 nn.) suggest that it is *κόπρος* (or *ἄφοδος*). This identification is supported by the following considerations: (a) in roughly half of the

verifiable cases, the conditions specified are skin diseases, and animal excrement was used especially in treating illnesses of this kind (and for cosmetic purposes), see H. von Staden in V. Boudon-Millot et al. (edd.), *Femmes en médecine ... en l'honneur de Danielle Gourevitch* (2008) 186; (b) none of the surviving prescriptions contradicts this hypothesis; (c) none of the other animal products normally used in medical treatments (usually gall, fat, urine, blood, milk, eggs) appears to suit all the prescriptions, and some of them are to be excluded for linguistic reasons. The commentary below assumes that this interpretation is correct. In all likelihood the prescriptions of the badly damaged first column are concerned with the same substance, unless there was a transition from another substance (also feminine, cf. 4, 8, 15, 17) in the lost lower part of the column. On 'excrement therapy', see R. Muth, *Träger der Lebenskraft: Ausscheidungen des Organismus im Volksglauben der Antike* (1954) 129–43; R. J. Durling, 'Excreta as a Remedy in Galen, His Predecessors and His Successors', in R. Beyers et al. (edd.), *Tradition et traduction: Les textes philosophiques et scientifiques grecs au Moyen Age latin: Hommage à Fernand Bossier* (1999) 25–35. It is still worth consulting J. G. Bourke, *Scatalogic Rites of All Nations* (1891) 277–369; there are useful observations in H. von Staden, 'Women and Dirt', *Helios* 19 (1992) 7–30. The best treatment of classical bird names is now W. G. Arnott, *Birds in the Ancient World from A to Z* (2007).

It cannot be determined whether 5315 formed part of a work concerning the medical uses of bird droppings or of animal excrement more generally, or whether it derives from the section *περὶ κόπρου* of a major work: cf. Dsc. 2.80 (161.19–164.5 W.), Gal. *SMT* 10.2.18–29 (xii 290.16–308.12 K.). Our text looks like an abstract of a pharmacopoeia, or a synthesis of chapters like those of the *Cyranides*. It bears a strong resemblance to that text, evident for example in the structure of the phrases, in vocabulary (see ii 25 n. on ἡ[δο]νική), and possibly also in the presence of magical elements (see i 2, 21 nn.); see the commentary *passim*. Our papyrus, then, may be of some interest with regard to the question of the composition and date of the *Cyranides*, on which see D. Bain, *RAC* XXI (2006) 225–7 s.v. Koiraniden (Kyraniden).

Col. i

]
] δαίμονι []
]
] αακομένη
 5]
 μετὰ μέλιτος ηδ[]
]
] ειομένη πρὸς
]
 10] . . . σχοια[] ρ . . .
]
] παύει
] κ . . . σ
] ρικους
 15] ειομένη
]
 (-)τρι]βομένη αἶρει
]
] [. . .] προς [] . . .
 20]
] πτον
] μα
] α . . . γε
]
 25] κη
]

Col. ii

αστερ[c.20] . ας προστιθε-
 μέν[η]
 κανθάρου [c.Π] πρὸς ψώραν.
 αέτου μετ' οἴ[νου τρι]βομένη καὶ πεινομένη
 συναγχ[ικου]ς παύει.
 γυπὸς μετὰ μέλιτος πυ]ρετὸν καταψύχει.
 γερανοῦ μεθ' ὕ[δατος] . . . αρας παύει.
 πλατύποδος [μετὰ] μυρσίνου πρὸς ἐκ-
 ζέματα.
 κύνου μετ' ὄξ[ους] λήπρας παύει.
 μ]ελα[γ]κορύφου [μετὰ] φοινικίνου ρειγοπύρε-
]τον ἐξαίρει.
]κτείνου] μετὰ [μέ]λ[ι]τος πρὸς κατ[α]καύματα.
 ἴβευς χρονίου[ς] λιχ]ήνας αἶ[ρ]ει.
 15 ἱέρα[κ]ος μετ' ὄξο[υς] πρ[ὸς] κεφαλαργίαν.
 περειστερᾶς ὑποθυ[μι]ωμένη [έ]κβόλιον.
 του μετὰ ῥ[οδί]νου περ[ί]χρηστος.
 κόρακος μετ' ὄξο[υς] πρὸς [] . . . [] . . . σ.
 κορόνης μετ' οἴν[ου] π []
 20 τρυγόνος μετὰ ῥο[δί]ν[ο]υ πρὸς [ύς]τερικᾶς.
 χηρὸς] μεθ' ὕδατος π[ρ]ὸς ψώρ[α]ς.
 χηγαγρίου ὑποθυμιωμέν[η] ἐκβόλιος.
 νυκτερίδος μεθ' ὕδατος ἔρπη[τ]α παύει.
 αφ . . . μεθ' ὕδατος πρὸς ψώ[ρ]αν.
 25 . . .]ερίου μετὰ μέλιτος ἠ[δο]νική.
]
 νυκτε]κόρακος πρὸς παρωτίδας.
] μετ' οἶνον πρὸς δύσπνοιαν.

Col. ii

4 l. πεινομένη 11-12 l. φοινικίνου ρειγοπύρετον 13 l. κτείνου 14 ἴβευς 1. λειχήνας
 15 ἱέρα[κ]ος 16 l. περειστερᾶς ὑπο 17 l. περιχρηστος 19 l. κορόνης 22 ὑπο

'... marvellously (?) ... applied as a plaster (?) ... with honey promote pleasure (?) ... smeared (?)
 against ... stops ... for sufferers from (?) ... smeared (?) ... crushed remove ... against (?) ... attached (?)
 ... against a white spot (?) ... put on (?) ... promote pleasure (?) ... Goldfinch (?) (droppings) ... applied
 ... Dung-beetle (?) (droppings) ... against scabies. Eagle (droppings), crushed with wine and drunk,

stop sufferers from quinsy. Vulture (droppings) with honey cool fever. Crane (droppings) with water stop scabs (?). Platypous (droppings) with myrtle oil against boils. Swan (droppings) with vinegar stop leprosy. Blackcap (droppings) with date-palm oil get rid of fever with shivering. Kite (droppings) with honey against burns. Ibis (droppings) remove chronic lichens. Hawk (droppings) with vinegar against headache. Pigeon (droppings) burnt for fumigation, expulsive. ... with rose oil, ointment. Raven (droppings) with vinegar against polyps (?). Crow (droppings) with wine ... Turtle dove (droppings) with rose oil for hysterical women. Goose (droppings) with water against scabies. Wild goose (droppings) burnt for fumigation, expulsive. Bat (droppings) with water stop shingles. ... (droppings) with water against scabies. Bittern (?) (droppings) with honey promote pleasure. Long-eared owl (?) (droppings) against tumours of the parotid gland. ... (droppings) with wine against breathlessness.

Col. i

1 The highest visible line in col. i stands at the same level as the second line of col. ii: in all likelihood, the first line of the column (probably the short second line of a prescription beginning at the foot of the previous column) is lost.

2 δαίμωνι [: the final trace is the left-hand arc of a circle (ο, ς, ω). Two possible approaches: (a) δαίμωνιω[ς (e.g. 2-3 δαίμωνιω[ς | [ποιεῖ], cf. e.g. P. Mich. XVII 758 A.4-5 ποιῖ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ | [ἐλακ]ῶν δαίμ[ο]νίως καὶ ἄλλω[ν], Gal. *Comp. Med. Loc.* 3.1, 4.7 (xii 610.6, 767.11 K.), Orib. *Ec.* 105.18 (CMG VI.2.2 286.2-3), etc.); (b) δαίμωνιω[ν (e.g. 2-3 ἀπὸ] δαίμωνιω[ν] | [φυλάττει (οἱ ῥύεται, etc.), cf. *Cyran.* 3.51.20-21 (p. 239 K.) ἢ δὲ τοῦ ἀγρίου χηνὸς κόπρος θυμωμένη δαίμονας ἀπελαύνει; also 3.42.11-12 (p. 230 K.) τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ (peacock) καὶ ἢ κόπρος θυμωμένα πᾶν φαῦλον ἀποδιώκουσι καὶ μαγίαν.

4]αῤσομένη: probably καταπλ]αῤσομένη, cf. *Cyran.* 3.3.13-14 (of the ἀλέκτωρ) ἢ δὲ κόπρος αὐτοῦ σὺν ὅξει καταπλ]αῤσομένη λυσοδῆκτους καὶ τραύματα θεραπεύει, 2.4.10, 3.36.48 (pp. 194, 120, 224 K.), [Gal.] *Rem. Parab.* 1.3 (xiv 336.7 K.), *Hipp. Berol.* 130.61 (i 412.2-3 O.-H.); alternatively, ἐπιπ]αῤσομένη, cf. Aët. 15.18 (106.1 Z.) ἐπίπασσε τὴν τῆς περιστερᾶς κόπρον, 20 (118.11-12 Z.), Aret. 5.7.5 (CMG II III.1), *Hipp. Paris.* 704 (ii 84.19-20 O.-H.), etc.

4ff. From the level of line 4 down to the level of line 12, about 2.5 cm from the left-hand edge, a strip of vertical fibres 1-3 letters wide is missing. The damage had occurred before the text was copied: some letters are written on the horizontal fibres.

6 ηδ[.]. Possibly 6-7 ἠδ[ο]||νική, cf. ii 25.

8]ειομένη: of ε, only the cap and the end of the cross-bar in ligature with ι remain, but θ is excluded. -ει-, however, does not seem promising. Is it written for ι (cf. ii 4, 11 (bis), 13, 16, 17 περ[ί]χρηεῖςτος)? If so, a likely candidate is (-)χρίω: smearing of animal excrement is a widespread therapeutic treatment, e.g. *Cyran.* 1.1.49, 3.9.27-8, 3.17.4-5 (pp. 23, 200, 207 K.), etc., [Dsc.] *Eup.* 1.150 (iii 208.15-16 W.), [Gal.] *Rem. Parab.* 1.5, 2.12.2 (xiv 349.1-2, 439.5-7 K.), and cf. ii 17.

10] . . . ςχοισα[.]ρ . . : the second ς could be ε, and the ρ (only the loop is preserved) could be ο; at the end, prima facie εῖ, but normally the crossbar of ε meets the top of ι at a right angle and ι is vertical, not convex as it would be here. α[?]ρῆι (cf. i 17, ii 14) is not an impossible reading, but -οιε (or -οιε) before it is not easy to explain.

11 Apparently the blank space following a short (single-line) recipe. Alternatively, it may be possible to take line 12 as the next line after line 10: for a widely-spaced pair of lines, cf. e.g. ii 20-21. A similar problem arises in relation to 18 below.

13]κ . . . ς. Damaged traces: perhaps an upright; low traces on a detached strip; apparently an upright, with specks to the right.

14]ρικους. Perhaps the accusative plural of a word denoting a person suffering from some medical

condition, preceded by *πρός* (cf. ii 20).

15]ειομένη. The same comments apply as in 8, see above.

17 (-)τρι]βομένη αἶρει. Reading and supplement seem unavoidable, although elsewhere the name of the disease precedes the verb. Cf. *Cynan.* 3.9.28 (quoted below, ii 6 n.).

18 Cf. II n.

19 *προς. ρο* was written on the horizontal fibres: the vertical fibres were missing. *πρός?* *προς?*

[] . : a high trace; perhaps the right-hand side of μ with a roundel to the right.

21] *πτον*: an oblique descending from left to right (α , λ). Probably *περί]απτον* at the end of a recipe: cf. ii 16, 17 for the structure. Cf. *Dsc.* 3.150.2 (ii 158.12–13 W.) *ἔστι δὲ καὶ περιάπτον δυστοκούσαις*, of the stinking bean-trefoil. For *περιάπτειν* of attaching bird droppings, cf. *Cynan.* 3.10.6–9 (ed. A. Meschini, *AAP NS* 31 (1982) 171) *ὁ δὲ ἀπόπατος* (of the raven) *ἐρίψ ἀναλειφθεὶς {καὶ} περιάπτεται παιδίου βήσσου καὶ μεγάλως ὠφελεί. παύει δὲ καὶ μύλης πόνον εἰς τε τὸ βρώμα ἐπιτεθειμένος καὶ περιεπτόμενος μετὰ τὸ περικαθαρθῆναι*. It is therefore uncertain whether the probable *περί]απτον* would mean here 'amulet' or simply indicate the nature of the remedy or the correct way to administer it (like *περίχριστος* at ii 17).

22] *μα*: apparently the right-hand side of a round letter (ω rather than σ , ρ). Perhaps *πρὸς* *λεὺκ]ωμα?* Cf. *Cynan.* 3.43.3–4, also 2.22.12–13, 2.29.8–9 (pp. 231, 150, 161 K.).

23] α . ϵ . $\gamma\epsilon$: after α a horizontal at letter-top level (the cap of ϵ ?); after ϵ , faint traces apparently of three uprights ($\pi\iota$?); γ could equally well be taken as a τ with the left-hand part of the cross-bar lost to surface damage.] $\alpha\epsilon$ $\xi\eta\iota\tau\epsilon$] $[\theta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\alpha\alpha?$

25] *κη*: *ἡδον]κή*, as in ii 25 and (possibly) i 6–7?

Col. ii

1 *ατερρ*]: ϵ is anomalous, but cf. the ϵ of 23 *νυκτερίδος*. There appear to be two possible supplements, *ἀττέρ]ος* (the goldfinch) and *ἀττερ]ίου* (the bittern or a kind of hawk, probably the goshawk), see Arnot, *Birds* s.vv. *Astēr*, *Asterias*. However, *ἀττερίου* is probable at 25 (see below), so the first is likely here (if the reading is correct).

] *αε*: the horizontal on the base-line prolonged beyond the belly of the following α suggests the lower arm of κ (cf. the second κ of 13 *κατ[α]καυματα*). Elsewhere another ingredient (in the genitive, preceded by *μετά*) may be mentioned between the initial bird name and the participle, but that is clearly not what this is. Perhaps (either preceded by *πνίγας*, *διαθέσεις*, *γυναικας*, or alone) *ὑπερι]κός?* Cf. below, 20 n.

3 *κανθάρου* would be expected to refer to the dung-beetle: cf. I. C. Beavis, *Insects and Other Invertebrates in Classical Antiquity* (1988) 157–8. But while dung-beetles (though not their droppings) had certain medicinal applications, they do not appear to have been used in treatments for skin diseases: cf. Beavis 164. One may wonder whether the blister-beetle is meant: for *κάνθαρος* used in this sense, Beavis 169 cites D. L. 6.44 and *Hipp. Berol.* 15.9 (i 88.17–18 O.–H.) *κανθάρια τῶν ποικίλων*. Blister-beetles were often applied externally in treatments for skin conditions, cf. e.g. LXXX 5249 I n. The active ingredient, cantharidin, is contained also in their faeces: cf. e.g. K. Dettner, 'Inter- and Intraspecific Transfer of Toxic Insect Compound Cantharidin', in id. et al. (edd.), *Vertical Food Web Interactions* (1997) 115–45 at 119.

[*ε.π*]: e.g. [*μεθ' ὕδατος*] could fill the gap if generously spaced. Cf. 21, 24.

ψύραν: cf. I. Andorlini in ead. (ed.), *Testi medici su papiro* (2004) III on PSI X 1180 (SB XXXVIII 17134) fr. A ii 39–42.

4–6 There are blank spaces between ϵ and τ at 4 *μετ*, between ν and α at 5 *συναγχ*], and between μ and ϵ at 6 *μετα*. Perhaps the scribe avoided writing over a damaged strip, though it is conceivable that

these gaps in the text are due to warping.

4-5 Cf. *Cyran.* 3.1.218-19 (ed. E. Gherro, *AAPat* 88 (1975-6) III 135) ἀετοῦ ἢ κόπρος ἐν οἴνω πινομένη ἐν ὕδατι θερμῷ συναγχικοὺς καὶ ἀντιάδας ἄκρωσ ἰᾶται. For the pharmacological use of the eagle, cf. Gherro 125-35. Cf. also *Aët.* 10.21 (quoted below on 15) for eagle droppings in a dropsy remedy.

5 συναγχι[κοὺς] παύει. συνάγχι[ac would be much too short for the gap. For παύω with the sufferers rather than the condition as object, cf. e.g. SB XXVI 16458.3, 6 (PSI VI 718); LXXX 5247 ii 9 κωφοὺς παύσαι; *Cyran.* 1.1.27-8 (p. 22 K.) δυσεντερικοὺς, λειεντερικοὺς καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα παύει, 1.6.23 (p. 47 K.) παύει δὲ καὶ κωλικούς.

6 Cf. *Cyran.* 3.9.27-9 (p. 200 K.) ἢ δὲ κόπρος αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ γυπόσ) μετὰ ῥοδίνου τριβομένη καὶ συγχιρομένη πυρέσσοντος τὸν τούτου πυρετὸν ἀποδιώκει. Many other therapeutic uses of vulture droppings are mentioned in the same passage. The TLG gives no example of καταψύχω with πυρετὸν as object, but cf. for equivalent expressions *Hp. Loc. Hom.* 27 (vi 318.10-11 L. = 63.5-6 Joly) καὶ (μὴ) ψύχειν τὸν πυρετὸν, *Gal. MM* 9.5 (x 619.12-13 K.) εἰ δ' ἐκείνον (sc. τὸν πυρετὸν) ἐμψύχειν (sc. ἐθέλοις), *Aët.* 5.94 (CMG VIII.2 78.22-3) ἐμψύχωμεν ἅπαντι τρόπῳ τοὺς ἐκτικοὺς πυρετοὺς αὐτίκα; and (with καταψύχω intransitive) *Hp. Epid. VII* 10 (v 380.23-4 L. = 58.5 Jouanna) καὶ τὸ πυρέτιον καταψύχειν ἔδοκει.

7] . . . αρα: first, an upright; second, a low dot on the edge; third, a high trace and further ink below on a displaced strip. Perhaps ἱσχάρας or ἀἱσχάρας for ἐσχάρας 'eschars, scabs'. For ε > ι before c and for ε > αι, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 250, 193; for scabs treated with dog or human faeces, cf. *Aët.* 8.49 (CMG VIII.2 473.16-17, 475.6-7, 10-12).

8 πλατύποδος. As far as I can see, this word does not occur elsewhere as a bird name. Possibly it was a popular nickname of a specific web-footed bird, but swan and goose (cf. sch. *Ar. Av.* 1145 διὰ τὸ πλατύποδας τῶν ἄλλων μάλλον εἶναι τοὺς χῆνας) are mentioned in 10 and 21-2 respectively. Probably the duck, cf. *Avien. Arat.* 1684 *latipedem* . . . *anatem*. It seems rather unlikely that the word indicates generally any palmiped (στεγανόπους) bird: elsewhere particular animals are mentioned.

[μετὰ] μυρσίνου. For myrtle oil, cf. e.g. *P. Aberd.* 10.12, 15 with I. Andorlini, *AATC* 46 (1981) 45-6, 48.

8-9 On ἐκζέματα, see Andorlini (3 n.) 112 on PSI 1180 fr. A ii 43-5.

10 Cf. (of the ἄρπη) *Cyran.* 1.6.17-18 (p. 47 K.) ἢ κόπρος δὲ λέπρας παύει μετ' ὄξους καταχριομένη. On λέπρα, see Andorlini (3 n.) 108 on PSI 1180 fr. A ii 10-14.

11 φοινικίνου, l. φοινικ-. For date-palm oil, cf. *Crito ap. Gal. Comp. Med. Loc.* 1.3 (xii 448.4-5 K.). The third-century *P. Lond.* III 928 (p. 190) 13 gives φλουίνικινον in a list of oils, χρ[υ]μάτων (BL III 94), and φοινικίνου appears in a list of unguents of the third century BC, *P. Petr.* II 34(b) ii 7 (BL I 369).

11-12 ρειγοσύρε|τον, l. ρίγο-. See 5306 2 n.

12 ξζαίρει. For the meaning 'remove, get rid of', see LSJ s.v. I.5, BDAG s.v.; with a disease as object: *Dsc.* 1.6 (i 11.6 W.) ψάρας ξζαίρει, 2.175.2 (i 243.13-14 W.) στύγματα ξζαίρει καὶ μυρμηκίας καὶ ἀκροχορδόνας καὶ ἄλωπεκίας, [*Dsc.*] *Eup.* 1.110 (iii 192.23 W.), *Orib. Syn.* 7.43.2 (CMG VI.3 238.2), *Aët.* 1.193 (CMG VIII.1 87.4), etc.

13 ἰ|κτείνου[v], l. ἰκτίνου. According to *Geop.* 13.8.8 (392.13-17 B.), kite droppings may be used to repel snakes.

κατ[α]καύματα: 'burns' rather than 'inflammations'.

14 ἴβειω: for the pharmacological use of ibis droppings, cf. PSI 1180 fr. A iii 21-4 (where WBH proposes ἴβ[εω] in line 21) with Andorlini (3 n.) 114. Cf. also W. C. Till, *Die Arzneikunde der Kopten* (1951) 70, for ibis droppings used in a cure for shingles.

χρονίου[ε] λιχ|ῆνας. The gap seems too short for [ε λιχ]; for λιχ- in this word, cf. e.g. PSI 1180 fr. A ii 27, 35, 39, iii 1; *P. Mich.* 758 L.6. For the phrase, cf. *Gal. Comp. Med. Loc.* 5.3 (xii 834.11 K.) περίχριστος

έφθῆ πρὸς λειχῆνας χρονίους, [Gal.] *Rem. Parab.* 1.6 (xiv 353.10 K.) πρὸς χρονίους λειχῆνας. For λειχῆν, cf. Andorlini (3 n.) 110 on PSI X 1180 fr. A ii 27ff.

15 *ιέρα[κ]ι[ο]ς*. For the medical use of hawk droppings, cf. *Hp. Mul.* I 89 (viii 214.10 L.); *Cyran.* 3.18.4–5 (p. 208 K.) τούτου τὸ ἀφόδευμα μετὰ γλυκέως οἴνου πνόμενον ἄκνυτόκιόν ἐστιν, ἐπὶ πλείστον ποθέν, 3.9.8–9 (p. 171 Meschini) ὁ δὲ ἀπόπατος αὐτοῦ ἰᾶται τὰ ἐπιγινόμενα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀλγήματα; cf. also *Λετ.* 10.21 (*Laur. plut.* 75.2 f. 98 r.; col. 652 Cornarius (1549)) χρίσμα Ἀπολλωνίου· ἱέρακος κόπρον μετὰ χυλοῦ ἀγρίας κράμβης συνεχῶς κατάχρη· θαυμαστῶς ποιεῖ. βέλτιον δὲ ἐὰν μίξῃς κόπρον αἰετοῦ.

κεφαλαργίαν. For this spelling, cf. *Suppl. Mag.* I 14.5 with n.; Kotansky, *GMA* 57.17; *SEG LII* 1872.6–7 (*κεφαλαργίαν*), *LVI* 1116.14–15, 19–20, *LXI* 772.11–12, 773 A.8; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (1998) A 11.5 *qphryg*. In *Cyran.* 3.17.4–5 (p. 207 K.), the droppings of the θηρευτής (also called πάνθηρ, certainly a raptor) are said to heal migraine when smeared together with vinegar and rose oil. Cf. also Till (14 n.) 70.

16 Cf. *Aët.* 16.18 (23.14–15 Z.) φασι δὲ καὶ κόπρον περιστερᾶς θυμιωμένην ἐκβάλλειν. In *Cyran.* 3.1.68–9 (p. 190 K.), fumigation with eagle droppings is said to have the same effect. Pigeon droppings had a wide range of medical applications: cf. *Dsc.* 2.80.4 (i 163.4–7 W.), *Gal. SMT* 10.2.25 (xii 302.13–303.9 K.), *Cyran.* 3.37.14–22 (pp. 225–6 K.), 3.26a (D. Bain, *ZPE* 104 (1994) 37; corrigendum at *ZPE* 106 (1995) 30), and see A. Steier, *RE* IV A.2 (1932) 2493 s.v. Taube, Till (14 n.) 70, and the references in C. Opsomer, *Index de la pharmacopée du I^{er} au X^e siècle* (1989) 300, 739.

ὑποθυ[μ]ωμένη. It is unclear whether the fumigation was to be performed ὑπὸ τὰ αἰδοῖα or ὑπὸ τὰς ῥῖνας. The same comment applies at 22.

[ἐ]κβόλιον. For the meaning of this word (LSJ s.v.: ‘drug or other means for expelling the foetus or placenta’), as distinct from φθόριον (abortifacient), see M.-H. Congourdeau in F. Collard and É. Samama (edd.), *Le corps à l’épreuve: Poisons, remèdes et chirurgie: Aspects des pratiques médicales dans l’Antiquité et au Moyen-Âge* (2002) 68. The word occurs at P. Tebt. Tait 44.12. See 22 below, where the adjective is used.

17 In the margin, apparently a gently ascending stroke, whose meaning escapes me.

... του. The first two traces are ambiguous: prima facie they are the right-hand end of a high cross-bar touching the top of ο, but they could also represent the cross-bar and curved right-hand side of π touching the left-hand parts of λ. The third and fourth traces are damaged; the fifth, perhaps υ; the sixth, α or λ; then ε or ι. αετοῦ is a probable reading for the final sequence, but what precedes is unclear. There does not seem to be a suitable compound. Perhaps πλαγγαέτου (unattested), formed from πλάγγος (a sort of eagle) and αετός? But the reading is difficult: the second γ would have a sloping upright.

μετὰ ῥ[οδί]νον: also at 20. For rose oil, cf. e.g. P. Köln XI 437.8 n.

περ[ί]χρηστος, l. περίχρηστος. Of π just parts of the horizontal, of the first ρ part of the long tail. On this sort of ointment, see PSI Congr. XX 5.1 n.

18 . . . [.] . . . : the traces are almost completely lost to abrasion. Before the gap, perhaps the feet of two verticals close to each other (π?), then probably ο and a dot at mid-line level. After the gap, perhaps a faint suggestion of ο and then probably the upright and the right-hand arm of the cup of υ; of the final ς only the lower left-hand arc and fragments of the much extended cap used as line filler remain. Perhaps πολ[ύ]πυρον: for this form of the accusative plural, see LSJ s.v. πολύπους (B) and cf. VIII 1088 32. For (dog) faeces with vinegar as a cure for nasal polyps, cf. [*Dsc.*] *Eup.* 1.150 (iii 208.15–16 W.). Raven droppings were used to treat dull white leprosy and vitiligo (*Cyran.* 3.21.4–5 (p. 210 K.); also 3.29.5–6 (p. 215 K.)), coughing (Plin. *NH* 30.137 *finum corvi lana adalligatum infantium tussi medetur*; *Cyran.* 3.10.6–7 (p. 171 Meschini, cf. i 21 n.); cf. also *Hipp. Cant.* 14.7 (ii 153.15–16 O.–H.)), and toothache (Plin. *NH* 30.26; *Cyran.* 3.10.7–9 (p. 171 M., cf. i 21 n.)). ἀλφούς, βήχας, and ὀδονταλγίας cannot be read.

19 π [.] After π, part of a vertical. Then the surface is scoured: about eight

letters will have been lost. After the damaged patch: first, a small circle (o or the loop of ρ); second and third, two verticals, representing one (ν?) or two letters; fourth, a circlet (o? ρ? the loop of α?); fifth, the foot of an upright reaching below the line (ι?); sixth, perhaps the upper arc of a small round letter (o, ρ); seventh, a minimal trace; last, the foot and top of a tall upright (probably ι). The last letter suggests that the line ended with a verb, e.g. αἶρει, but -ει would not be in ligature, as it always is elsewhere, cf. 6, 7, 10, 12, 14, 23. If so, π, [is the beginning of the name of the disease or of a participle (πινομένη?), not of πρός.

In *Cyran.* 3.22.7 (p. 211 K.), crow droppings drunk with wine cure breathlessness; cf. also *Cyran.* 3.7.4 (p. 197 K., quoted below, 27 n.): breathlessness and coughing.

20 A precise parallel is *Cyran.* 3.43.5-6 (p. 231 K.) ἡ ἄφοδος (of the τρυγῶν) ἐν ῥοδίνῳ λειουμένη καὶ χρισμένη ὑτέραν θεραπεύει. Cf. also 1 n. For cures for ὑστερικαί, cf. GMP I 10 B i 2 n. Another use of turtle dove droppings: smeared with woman's milk or honey, they cure corneal opacity (*Cyran.* 3.43.3-4 (p. 231 K.)).

21 At the beginning of the line, the papyrus is in an extremely bad condition, and χηρό[ε] is more divined than read; it suits the space, however, and I am confident that it is correct. According to Gal. *SMT* 10.2.27 (xii 305.1-3 K.), goose droppings, like those of eagles and hawks, are useless as overly acidic. *Cyran.* 3.51.19-20 (p. 239 K.), however, recommends drinking them with water as a cough remedy, and the *Physica Plinii Bambergensis* includes them in external remedies for dripping ulcers in the head and for quinsy, 6.12 (30.11 Öpnerfors) and 48.19 (64.30 Ö.).

ψώρ[α]ε: of ψ, parts of both strokes, abraded in the middle; of ω, the left-hand half, abraded at the foot; of ρ, the loop. At 3 and 24 we have the singular.

22 In *Cyran.* 3.51.20-22 (p. 239 K.), wild goose droppings burnt for fumigation banish demons and cure lethargy and uterine suffocation. For gynaecological use of the droppings of the Egyptian goose (χηναλώπηξ), cf. also Hp. *Mul.* I 89 (viii 214.11-13 L.).

ὑποθυμωμέν[η]. See 16 n.

ἐ]κβόλιος. For this adjective, see *DGE* s.v. 1. The substantive ἐκβόλιον occurs at 16.

23 νυκτερίδος. The 'hybrid' nature of the bat (see I. Mundle, *RAC* VII (1969) 1098 s.v. Fledermaus) explains its inclusion here. In the *Cyranides*, the bat is treated twice, once in the second book concerning quadrupeds (2.28 (p. 160 K.)), and once in the third book among birds under the name ὀφέα (3.33 (p. 219 K.); see 24 n.).

ἐρπη[τ]α. For the use of excrement in treatments for shingles, cf. Till (14 n.) 70. For ἐρπηε, see Andorlini (3 n.) 112 on PSI 1180 fr. A iii 10-20.

After the final παύει there is some ink that suggests a triangular letter (α, δ). Below it, roughly on the base-line of 24, further ink: an oblique descending from left, hooked to the right at the foot. Both traces may be related to the next column. In that case, they may have been added by a reader and may have served simply to draw attention to a particular recipe or particular recipes.

24 αφ. . . ε: on damaged surface, apparently a vertical (ι?), followed by an oval letter (ε or θ?), but all is very uncertain. I cannot find a suitable word. Perhaps ὀφέας was meant: ὀφέα is another name for the bat according to *Cyran.* 3.33.2 (p. 219 K.), cf. 23 n.; see Arnott, *Birds* s.v. It would follow νυκτερίς (23) as κορώνη (19) follows κόραξ (18).

25 . . .]ερίου. Probably ἀτ[ε]ρίου (περικτ[ε]ρίου would be much too long). See above, 1 n.

ἡ[δο]νική is used here of a thing that promotes sexual pleasure. This use is not recorded in LSJ or the Revised Supplement, but common in the *Cyranides*; cf. 1.18.42-4 (p. 87 K.) τῶν δὲ στρουθοκαμήλων ὁ ἐχίνος τὸ λεγόμενον σιφούκιον ξηρὸν λειωθὲν καὶ διδόμενον λάθρα φιλτροπόσιμον ἐστὶν ἡδονικὸν παρασκευάζον εἰς ἔρωτα τὴν πίνουσαν αὐτὸ κόρην, 1.18.15, 2.9.8, 3.22.8, 3.43.8, 3.55.16, 4.58.6 (pp. 85, 132, 211, 231, 243, 284 K.); cf. also the section ἡδονικά in Ael. Promot. *Dynameron* 26 (pp. 91-4 Crismani). The

adjective has a sexual connotation also in the love-charm SB XX 14664.7-8 ἀξάτε αὐτὴν πρὸς ἐμ[ε] ... ἐπὶ ἔρωτι μανικῶ καὶ φιλίᾳ ἡδονικῇ (also 18, [34?], 50). For bird droppings applied externally with honey in a recipe for a ἡδονικόν, cf. Suppl. Mag. II 83.1-4.

26 νυκτι]κόρακος. The name is applied to an owl and to the black-crowned night heron, see Arnott, *Birds* s.v. (πυρρο]κόρακος is not excluded, but the name is only attested in Latin, see Arnott, *Birds* s.v.)

πρὸς παρωτίδας. In *Cyran.* 3.26a.2 (D. Bain, *ZPE* 104 (1994) 37) and Plin. *NH* 29.143, pigeon droppings are to be used in a treatment for tumours of the parotid glands. On παρωτίδες, see GMP II 3 fr. 2.5-6 n.

27]: perhaps βοροῦ]? Cf. *Cyran.* 3.7.4 (p. 197 K.) τούτου ἢ κόπρος ἐν οἴνῳ ποθεῖσα δύσπνοιαν καὶ βῆχα ἰάται. Crow droppings could also be used as a treatment for breathlessness (*Cyran.* 3.22.7 (p. 211 K.); see above, 19 n.), and the βορός is a type of crow (Arnott, *Birds* s.v.); but the κορώνη was already mentioned in 19, and there is no evidence of multiple entries for a single animal. In any case, βοροῦ] appears to be slightly too short for the lacuna.

πρὸς δύσπνοιαν. On this condition, see I. Andorlini, *Trattato di medicina su papiro* (1995) 130 (iv 9 n.).

F. MALTOMINI

VI. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

5316. PETITION CHALLENGING A SUMMONS TO APPEAR AT THE PREFECT'S COURT

SI 4B.22/C(1-3)a

5.5 × 14.4 cm

11 November 133–26 May 137
Plate VII

Teos, a temple-carpenter who recurs in III 579 descr. (edited in full below as 5317), addresses a petition to Apolinarius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, in which he appears to reject allegations made against him by Dionysius and attempt to resist a summons to the *conventus* communicated by a member of Apolinarius' staff.

The context of the dispute is obscure. Dionysius seems to have claimed that Teos owed him money. Since Teos refers to κεφάλαια (25), it had probably been loaned to him. Presumably Teos failed to repay the money when it fell due and Dionysius tried to recover it from him when the contract stipulated repayment, but the matter has not been resolved and Dionysius has sought remedy at law.

Little of Teos' contention can be made out before the papyrus breaks off, except that he appears to deny Dionysius' claims outright (21–2). The purpose of Teos' petition was probably to lodge with the strategus his official counter-statement (*antirrhesis*) in respect of the claim on which Dionysius' summons is based. The rest of the text presumably elaborated on Teos' contention concerning Dionysius' claim against him and may have included a request to rescind the summons besides the usual subscription and date.

Examples of *antirrhesis* from the Roman period include I 68 (131), BGU VII 1574 (176/7), and PSI Com. 14 (middle to late II). A contemporary Oxyrhynchite application to have a διαστολικόν served on a defendant is P. Oxy. Hels. 19 (134); it is addressed to the same strategus and mentions the same prefect's *conventus*.

The writing runs along the fibres, and the back is blank.

Ἀπολιναρίῳ στρα(τηγῶ)
 πα]ρὰ Τεῶτος Ἀρθώγ[ιος
 το]ῦ Θεῶνος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύ[γ-
 χων πόλεως ἱεροτ[έ-
 5 κτονος. Διονύσιος[
 Διονυσίου τοῦ Διονυ-
 σίου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς π[ό-
 λεως μετέδωκέν
 μοι δ[ι'] ἐνός τῶν ὑπη-
 10 ρε]τῶν σου ἀντίγ[ρα-

- φ]ον διαστολικού δ[ι' οὐ
 προηένκατ[ο εἴ]χειν
 π]ρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ βού-
 λεσθαί με παρατυ-
 15 χεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐπ' ἀ[γ]α-
 θῶ ἐσόμενον ὑπ[ὸ
 τοῦ κρατίστου [ἡγεμ]ό-
 ν[ος] Πετρωνί[ου Μα-
 μερτείνου τοῦ νομοῦ
 20 δι]αλογισμόν [c.6
 ο]ὐδὲν ἀπλῶς [c.6
 π]ρὸς ἐμὲ οφε[c.6
 . .] ἰ ἀγράφως[c.5
 ἐγγραφ . . α . . [c.6
 25 κεφάλαια κα[c.6
 . . γ μεταδο[c.6
 με[τ]ὰ τοῦτο[c.6
] δημεν[c.6
] . . [.] . .] το[c.6

1 στρ¹ 12 l. προηένκατο 18-19 l. Μαμερτείνου

'To Apolinarius, strategus, from Teos, son of Harthonis, son of Theon, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, temple-craftsman. Dionysius, son of Dionysius, son of Dionysius, from the same city communicated to me by one of your assistants a copy of a writ through which he claimed to have a case against me, and declared that he wanted me to appear at the coming propitious *conventus* of the nome to be held by the prefect Petronius Mamertinus, *vir egyptius*. He has no case against me ... capital ... after that ...'

1 Ἀπολιναρίω στρα(τηγῶ). Cf. 5317 3 n. for his dates.

4-5 ἱεροτ[έ]κτονος. ἱεροτέκτονες are attested at Oxyrhynchus in six other papyri: SB XIV 11958.33 and 57 (117), III 579 (c.138), XII 1550 7, 14-17 (156), P. Rein. II 93.4 (159/60), P. Mich. XVIII 788.2 (173), P. Rein. II 94.8-9 (193-8). Elsewhere the designation only occurs in SB I 789.2 (111), a mummy label probably from Panopolis. Many ἱεροτέκτονες have similar names, which suggests that they were probably related: besides 5316, five of the other six attestations of the title concern men called either Thonis or Harthonis, and they are all engaged at one of the temples of Athena Thoeis in Oxyrhynchus. They may have been priests: the names Thonis and Harthonis were common among priests of the cult of Thoeis, Isis, and Sarapis (P. Mich. 788.1 n.). T. Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung* (2002) 718-19 with 719 n. 2032, suggests that the ἱεροτέκτονες were probably not priests, pointing to P. Rein. II 94.26-8 (Oxy., 194-7), where certain ἱεροτέκτονες refer to provisions which are to be given [ὅ]πὸ τῶν τῆς

Θοήριδο[ς ἱερ]έων. But P. Mich. 788.2-4 (173) indicates that one priest at the Thoereum in Oxyrhynchus was also a ἱεροτέκτων: Θῶνις Φρατέως τοῦ Ἀρθώνιος ... ἱερεὺς κα[ὶ] πτεραφόρος κα[ὶ] ἱεροτέ[κτων] Θοήριδος καὶ Ἐΐσιδος καὶ Καράπιδος καὶ ναο[ῦ θεοῦ] Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος [καὶ] τῶ[ν συν]υ[άων θεῶν]. See esp. P. Mich. 788.2 n. and P. Rein. 93.4 n.

For a list of temple personnel engaged at the Thoereum, see J. Whitehorne, *ANRW* II 18.5 (1979) 3081-2.

8-9 μετέδωκέν | μοι. The verb is used when a legal document, such as a petition or registration of a mortgage deed (cf. e.g. XVII 2134 4 (170)), is communicated officially to the person to or against whom it is issued. See G. Foti Talamancá, *Ricerche sul processo nell'Egitto greco-romano* II (1979) 80.

9-10 δ[ι'] ἐνό[ς] τῶν ὑπη[ρ]ετῶν σου. The hyperetes was a member of the strategus' staff. One of his duties was the delivery of petitions; see S. Strassi, *Le funzioni degli ὑπηρέται nell'Egitto greco e romano* (1997) 39-71, esp. 42-3.

10-11 ἀντίγ[ρα]φ[ον] διαστολικῶ. The διαστολικόν is usually understood as the *Mahnbescheid*. This was the procedure which legally compelled the enforcement of the terms of a contract on a defaulting party. See esp. LXXV 5062 21 n.; O. Primavesi, *ZPE* 64 (1986) 99-101. But ἀντίγ[ρα]φ[ον] διαστολικῶ does not bear the usual meaning of 'copy of the *Mahnbescheid*': it means 'copy of the summons'. Summonses to the *conventus* are usually called παραγγελίαι. Perhaps the two terms were equivalent. XXXVIII 2852 (104/5) is a petition concerning a dispute about money from an inheritance. The text makes no mention of a διαστολικόν (29-33): ἡ ἔχοντος ἔγγραπτον παραγγελίαν παραγένωνται ὅπου ἐὰν ὁ νομὸς διαλογίζηται ἢ δικαιοδοτήται. But the docket on the back, written by a second hand, reads διαστολ(ικόν) Καβοῦ(το). The editors remark that the hand would be 'that of a government clerk, docketing the application for the files'. P. Oxy. Hels. 19 (134) is similar (7-17): ἀξιῶ μεταδοθῆναι αὐτῷ δι' ὑπηρέτου τοῦδε τοῦ ὑπομνήματος ἀντίγραφον ὅπως ἔχον ἔν[γ]ραπτον παραγγελίαν παρ[α]τύχη ὅπου ἐὰν ὁ κράτιστος ἡγεμῶν Πετρῶνιος Μαρμερτεῖνος ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ τὸν υἱ[ὸ]ν διαλογίζη[ται] ἢ δικαιοδοτή; and the docket on the back, written by the same hand, also describes the document as a διαστολ(ικόν). These two texts appear to demonstrate that a διαστολικόν could be the same as a παραγγελία. The essential character of the διαστολικόν seems to lie in the fact that it is an official instruction directed to a person by an authority and delivered to him by the agent of that authority; compliance with it is therefore mandatory.

10-20 The closest parallels are two papyri from the archive of 'Patron's descendants': a petition, P. Mil. Vogl. III 129 (135), and a reply to it, P. Mil. Vogl. VI 265 (135). Sabinus, *alias* Ninnus, applies to have two people summoned to appear at the *conventus* and has had a διαστολικόν issued (P. Mil. Vogl. 129.11-16); Kronion subsequently addresses a counter-petition to the prefect, M. Petronius Mamertinus, in which he denies outright that Sabinus has any case against him (P. Mil. Vogl. 265.8-17).

17-19 τοῦ κρατίστου [ἡγεμ]ῶ[ν] [ο]ς Π[ε]τρῶνι[ου] Μ[α]μ[ε]ρτεῖνου. M. Petronius Mamertinus is attested as holding office as prefect of Egypt between 11 November 133 and 26 May 137; see G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 286-8 and 38 (1980) 81.

20 δι' αλογισμῶν. On the *conventus*, see G. Foti Talamancá, *Ricerche sul processo nell'Egitto greco-romano* I (1974) 31-78, where the documentation is collected and discussed; on the processing of petitions and summonses to the *conventus*, see R. Haensch, *ZPE* 100 (1994) 487-546, especially 489-98 for this period.

20-22 may have run e.g. [οὐκ ἔχει] or [ἔχει δὲ | ο]ὐδὲν ἀπλῶς [πράγμα | π]ρὸς ἐμέ. Cf. P. Mil. Vogl. 265.10-12 π[ρ]ᾶγμα τοῦ καθόλου πρ[ὸ]ς ἐμέ μὴ ἔχων, BGU I 22.9-10 (114) ἀπλῶς μηδὲν ἔχουσα π[ρ]ᾶγμα πρὸς ἐμέ, BGU VII 1656.5-7 (213) οὐδὲν σοι ἐγκαλῶ περὶ οὐδενὸς ἀπλῶς π[ρ]ᾶγματος ἢ ἐνγράφω ἢ [ἀγράφω]. It is likely that some cognate of *ἀφείλεω* follows, but the syntax is unclear.

Unplaced fragments

Fr. 1

]. . . . []
] . . . []
] δε []
] . []
 5] κοπ []
] . []
] ξ []

Fr. 2

] . . []
] . . []
] . . . []

S. SLATTERY

5317. TOP OF DOCUMENT

III 579 descr.

4.8 × 10.7 cm

23 December 131–20 October 137

The top of a document addressed to the strategus and *basilikos grammateus* of the Oxyrhynchite nome; it may have been a declaration or a petition. Only the address and names of the applicants survive. One of them is Teos, known also from 5316 2; he is again called a *ιεροτέκτων*, on which see 5316 4–5 n.

The papyrus is kept in the St Mark's Library, General Theological Seminary, New York, and has been edited from a photograph. The writing runs along the fibres; nothing is reported on the back and it is assumed to be blank.

(m.3?)

χ

(m.2) *σεση(μείωμαι)*

(m.1) *Ἀπολιναρίῳ στρα(τηγῶ) καὶ Ἱέρακι βασιλ(ικῶ) γρα(μματεῖ)
 καὶ οἷς ἄλλοις καθήκει (vac.)*

5 *παρὰ Τεῶτος καὶ Θώνιος ἀμφοτ(έρων) Ἀρθώνιος
 τοῦ Θέωνος μητ(ρός) Τεπέιτος τῆς Τεῶτος τῶν
 ἀπ' Ὀξυρῦγχ(ων) πόλ(εως) ἱεροτεκτόνων Ἀθηνᾶς Θεή-
 [ριδος*

2 *σεση* 3 *στρ* 4 *βασιγρ* 5 *αμφο* 6 *μη* 7 *οξυρνηχπδ*

(2nd hand) 'I have signed.'

(1st hand) 'To Apolinarius, strategus, and Hierax, *basilikos grammateus*, and the others whom it

concerns, from Teos and Thonis, both sons of Harthonis, son of Theon, mother Tepeis, daughter of Teos, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, temple-craftsmen of the temple of Athena Thoeris ...²

¹ XL 2942 (c.154), a communication to a nomarch, has a similar χ at the top. The appearance of a second example here casts further doubt on the first editor's tentative suggestion that it is a file number representing 600. Perhaps it indicates that some form of processing has been completed.

² $\sigma\epsilon\sigma\eta(\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\mu\alpha\iota)$. The word was added at the head of the document without further elaboration, presumably in the addressee's office, either by one of the addressees or by a member of his staff as an official endorsement in processing the document.

³ $\text{Ἀπολιναρίω στρα(τηγῶ)}$. Apolinarius is positively attested as strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome between 12 March 134 (P. Oxy. Hels. 19.1) and 28 January 138 (III 484 2). No new evidence on his term of office has emerged since J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt* (2006) 96. Apolinarius' last known predecessor, Asclepiades, is last attested in office on 22 December 131 (XLIX 3470 3 and 3471 3); his next known successor is Petronius Dionysius, first attested in office on 17 December 138 (LXI 4113 1). T. Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung* (2002) 1018 n. 272, would date 5317 no earlier than 12 March 134, but in the absence of evidence for the intervening period, it seems safer to treat 22 December 131 as the *terminus post quem*.

Ἰέρακι . Hierax is attested in office first in 127/8 (XII 1452 2) and last on 22 December 131 (XLIX 3470 3 and 3471 3). The first attestation of Ptolemaeus, his successor as *basilikos grammateus*, is on 21 October 137 (PSI XII 1262 ii 9, iii 11).

7–8 Ἀθηνᾶς Θεῶς [$\rho\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$]. On the worship of Athena Thoeris, see J. Whitehorne, *ANRW* II 18.5 (1995) 3080–82.

S. SLATTERY

5318. CENSUS DECLARATION

19 2B.82/D(b)

6.2 × 18 cm

174/5
Plate X

The top of a document with part of the upper margin, preserved to its original height of 1.2 cm. The right-hand edge is intact, and the left-hand margin is preserved to its original width of 1 cm. The upper left-hand corner is lost, and the document breaks off at the foot after the oath formula, so that the dating clause that would have followed it is missing, as are any signatures or subscriptions. There is no addressee and no address on the back. This may suggest that the document is a copy, but the point is not certain; see LXXIV 4989 introd.

Three men are declared, and then one woman; for this arrangement in Oxyrhynchite declarations, see R. S. Bagnall and B. W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (2006) 24–5. The only other known Oxyrhynchite return for this census year (173/4) is 4989 (25 February–26 March 175).

The writing runs along the fibres and the back is blank.

- παρὰ Ἡρώδου τοῦ κ(αι)
 Ψευατύμιος Ἡρω-
 νος τοῦ κ(αι) Ψενήσιος
 Φίλωνος τοῦ κ(αι) Ἡρώδ(ου)
 5 μητ(ρός) Δημητροῦτ(ος) ἀπ' Ὁ-
 ξ(υρύγγων) πόλ(εως). κατὰ τὰ κελ[ε]υεθ(έντα)
 ὑπὸ Καλουειῶν Στα-
 τιστιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπ(ροτάτου)
 ἡγεμ(όνος) ἀπογρ(άφομαι) πρὸς
 10 τήν τοῦ διελ(θόντος) ἰ[δ] (ἔτους)
 Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
 κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) ἀπογρ(αφήν) τὸ ὑπάρ(χον)
 μοι ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) Ποιμε-
 15 νικ(ῆς) μέρος οἰκίας
 ἐφ' οὗ ἀπογρ(αφόμεθα) Ἡρώδ(ης)
 ὁ κ(αι) Ψενάτυμις
 ἀπὸ γυμνασίου ἄτεχ(νος) ἄσημ(ος)
 (ἑτῶν) νη, Σαραπ(ίων?) υἱὸς μητ(ρός)
 20 Ἡρακλ(ούτος?) Σαραπίων(ος) ἄτεχ(νος)
 ἄσημ(ος) (ἑτῶν) λβ, Γάιος ἀδελ(φός)
 μητ(ρός) τῆς α(ὐτῆς) ἰς []
 (ἑτῶν) κε, γ(υνή) Ταψέει[ς]
 ἀδελ(φή) γο(νέων) τῶν [α(ὐτῶν)].
 25 καὶ ὀμν(ύω) τὴν τ[ο]ῦ
 Αὐτοκράτορος Α[ὐρηλίου]
 Ἀντωνίνου Καί[ς]αρος
 τοῦ [κυρίου] ὑ τ[ύχη]ν

1 τοῦ ^κ	3 τοῦ ^κ	4 τοῦ ^κ ηρω ^δ	5 μη ^τ δημητροῦ ^τ	6 ξ)πο ^λ	κελ[ε]υε ^θ
8 λαμ)	9 ηγε ^μ απογρς	10 τήν: τη corr. from το	διε ^λ	13 κατοικ ^α απογρς	ὑπα ^θ
14 αμφ ^δ	15 νι ^κ	16 απογρς ηρω ^δ	17 ο ^κ	18 γατε ^κ αση ^μ	19 Λνησαρα)υἱοςμη ^τ
20 ηρακ ^λ σαραπι ^ω ατε ^κ	21 αση ^μ Λβγαίος αδ ^ε	22 μη ^τ	α)	23 Λκεγ	24 αδ ^ε γο
25 ομν					

From Herodes also known as Psenatymis, son of Heron also known as Psenesis, grandson of Philon also known as Herodes, mother Demetrou, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. In accordance with the orders issued by the prefect Calvisius Statianus, *vir clarissimus*, I register for the house-by-house declaration of the past 14th year of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar, the lord, the part of a house that I own in the district of Poimenike, in which (part) we are registered: Herodes also known as Psenatymis, of the gymnasia class, of no trade, with no distinguishing marks, aged 58; Sarapion(?), his son, mother Heraclous(?) daughter of Sarapion, of no trade, with no distinguishing marks, aged 32; Gaius, his brother by the same mother, with no distinguishing marks, aged 25; (a) woman: Tapseeis, their sister, of the same parents. And I swear by the fortune of the emperor Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord ...'

1-4 The family's male line has a high concentration of double names. This seems to be associated with elite status; see generally Y. Broux and S. Coussement in M. Depauw and S. Coussement (edd.), *Identifiers and Identification Methods in the Ancient World* (2014) 119-39.

3 τοῦ κ(αί) read from the archive photograph: less is now visible in the original.

4 Ἡρώδ(ου): or Ἡρωδ(ιανοῦ), but since it was common for a man to have the same name as his grandfather, this is less likely.

7-9 ὑπὸ Καλουζίου Στατιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπ(ροτάτου) ἡγεμ(όνος). Not λαμπ(ρότατα) ἡγεμ(ονεύσαντος): Statianus was certainly still in office when the document was written; he left office in disgrace (see Dio Cassius 71.28), and his name is unlikely to have been accompanied by honorific epithets thereafter. See LXXIV 4989 5-6 n.

14-15 ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) Ποιμενικ(ῆς). A well-attested quarter, located near the Serapeum on the western edge of the city; see J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit* (1990) 86, 373; S. Daris, *ZPE* 132 (2000) 220.

15 μέρος οἰκίας. The only other reference to an unspecified part of a shared house in the Oxyrhynchite census declarations so far published is at 4989 10, where see n.

19 Σαραπ(ιων?). As the name is abbreviated on its only appearance in the document, it was presumably the commonest of the names beginning with this sequence.

22 ις. [Apparently not ἄσγ[μ(ος)].

24 It is rather uncommon for a person's age not to be given. Bagnall and Frier, *Demography*, record 24 such cases, but 5 come in a single document, which is a copy (W. Chr. 208 = 131-Pr-1), and 3 in a document that omits all ages (P. Rein. I 49 = 215-An-1). Somewhat close to what we have here is P. Corn. 17 = SB XX 14304 (= 145-He-2), where some ages are given and others not.

25-8 ὀμνῶ τὴν Αὐτοκράτορος ... τύχην without the second article is a commoner pattern.

M. MALOUTA

5319. PETITION TO AN EPISTRATEGUS

22 3B.18/D(1-3)b

12 × 14.4 cm

203-7
Plate XII

A *παστοφόρος* of Hermes from the Small Oasis petitions the epistrategus to obtain redress. He states that those who reach the age of sixty are exempt by law from capitation taxes; he is now sixty years old and apparently his tax exemption has not been recognized. This is the first reference to the age of fiscal exemption in a text from the Little Oasis, and essentially

Oxyrhynchus (see 4 n.), and may suggest that it had remained the same since the reign of Augustus; see below, 7–8 n. The exact details of the case are obscured by the extensive damage after line 9 and the loss of the concluding part of the text.

The writing runs along the fibres; the back is blank.

Γαβινίω] Μοδέετω τῷ κρατίετω ἐπι[ιστρ(ατήγω)
 παρὰ Πετεχ]ώντος Πετεχώντος τοῦ Πετε-
 χώντος Παθώθου μητρὸς Θαήσιος ἀπὸ [ε-
 ναω τῆς Μεικρᾶς Ὀάς[εω]ς παστοφόρου Ἑρμ[ο]ῦ
 5 τ]ρισμεγάλου θεοῦ μεγίστου. νόμος ἐστὶν
 ν]ενομοθετημένο[ς] τοὺς γενομένους ἐξή-
 κ[ον]ταενιαυσίου εἰς ἀπ[ο]λύεσθαι τῶν δημοσί-
 ων ἐπικεφαλίων. κἀγὼ οὖν γενόμενος
 εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς ἔτος ὄλων ἐτῶν ἐξήκ[ο]ν[τ]α
 10 πεν ἰδυο ς τῶν τόπων πρ[ο] c.5
 ε [.] [.] ς με δια[.] c.5
 c.5]ω οντ ο[.]α ἔχοντα ἐξ[.]
 ςχ]εδὸν εἰπεῖν [.] λ[.] [.] c.4
 c.6]λευσαι μ[.] c.19
 15 c.5]ρος οὖν σε δ κα [.] c.14
 c.5] ἵνα δυνηθῶ ἀπ[.] c.12
 c.9] τον λοιπὸν μ[.] c.12
 c.13]νκ [.] c.14

4 l. Μικρᾶς 5 l. τρισμεγάλου εστω— 16 ἵνα

‘To Gabinius Modestus, the *egregius* epistrategus, from Petechon son of Petechon son of Pathothes, his mother being Thaesis, from Senao in the Small Oasis, shrine-bearer of Hermes thrice-great, the greatest god. It is an enacted law that those who have reached the age of sixty are exempted from public capitation taxes. Thus I, since I was sixty full years old on entering the current year, . . . of the places . . . me . . . having . . . virtually . . . Thus . . . you . . . so that I can . . . the rest . . .’

¹ Gabinius Modestus was epistrategus of the Heptanomia sometime between 203 and 206 and certainly on 25 March 207. See XLVII 3341 2 n.; J. D. Thomas, *The Epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* ii (1982) 190, 203 no. 61.

^{2–3} The name Petechon, which follows the pattern *P3-di* (‘the one given by’) and means ‘The one given by Khonsu’, is very common in the Great Oasis because of the proximity of the Theban triad (Amon, Mut and Khonsu) and the predominance of Amon’s cult in the oases. Only a few papyrological examples are known from the Small Oasis (O. Oasis Bahria 4, 13; SB VIII 9905; cf. e.g. PSI XII 1228;

G. Wagner, *Les oasis d'Égypte* (1987) 235), but the worship of the lunar god Khonsu is well attested in the area together with that of another lunar deity, Thoth-Hermes, who appears in the name of the petitioner's great-grandfather, Pathothēs (*Pa-Dhwty*, 'the one of Thoth'). For the worship of Khonsu and Thoth-Hermes (sometimes identified) in the Small Oasis, attested also by the presence of an ibis necropolis, cf. e.g. A. Fakhry, *The Oases of Egypt* II (1974) 91–7; O. E. Kaper, *Temples and Gods in Roman Dakbleh* (1997) 53, 90–91 (also 44, 153); id. in C. Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt* (2012) 722; N. Grimal, *BIFAO* 98 (1998) 552; F. Labrique, in A. Delattre and P. Heilporn (edd.), *Et maintenant, ce ne sont plus que des villages...*: *Thèbes et sa région aux époques hellénistique, romaine et byzantine* (2008) 4–5, 8–12; id., in M. Dospěl, L. Suková (edd.), *Bahriya Oasis* (2013) 255–62.

3–4 ζ[ε]νω τῆς Μεικρᾶς Ὀάξεω. The village of Senao in the Small Oasis is attested only in P. Harr. I 147.5 (129) κῶμης Σενᾶω τῆς Ὀάξεω; see Wagner, *Les oasis d'Égypte* 201–2. A village of this name is also attested in the western toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome; see Benaissa, *RSON*² 311–12. For a possible mention of Senao in Demotic see O. Dem. Pisa 450, in K. T. Zauzich, *Enchoria* 15 (1987) 176–7.

The Small Oasis (Bahariya) was an independent nome at the beginning of the Roman period. Around 160–170, though it maintained the designation of 'nome', it started to come under the administrative jurisdiction of the Oxyrhynchite strategus; see N. Lewis, *RechPap* 3 (1964) 28, and *BASP* 12 (1975) 107–8; Wagner, *Les oasis d'Égypte* 259–61. This explains why this petition was found in Oxyrhynchus.

4 παστοφόρου Ἐρμ[ο]ῦ. Cf. UPZ II 180a.5, 9, 7.10, 31.11, 38.8, 42.6 (Hermonth.; 113 BC), O. Ashm. 84 (Theb.; Roman), P. Lond. III 1164(g).5, 19 (Antin.; 212); SPP V 119 fr. 4.20 (Herm.; 266). The παστοφόροι were the highest class of the lower priesthood, whose main duties were to carry the god's shrine during festival processions and to guard the temple precinct. They paid the poll-tax like all the other priests not included in the fixed number of exemptions per temple (W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel in hellenistischen Ägypten* I (1905) 94–8; H. B. Schönborn, *Die Pastophoren im Kult der ägyptischen Götter* (1976) 3–45; J. Quaegebeur, in *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub* (1984) 161–76). Since the office was often hereditary, we are probably dealing with a family of παστοφόροι of the cult of Hermes/Khonsu, as their names, all compounded with the names of these lunar gods, seem to suggest.

4–5 Ἐρμ[ο]ῦ [τ]ριεμεγάλου. Cf. P. Stras. VII 685.12 (Ars.; c.149/50), P. Flor. I 50.97 (Herm.; 269), and probably PSI XIV 1438.4 (11/III), SB I 5659.6 (Herm.; 201). This title and the variant *τριεμέγιστος* are rare outside the Hermopolite nome. For the connection between Hermopolis and the Thoth/ibis cult in the oases see L. L. Giddy, *Egyptian Oases* (1987) 15–16; Kaper in Riggs (2–3 n.) 722.

5–6 νόμος ἐστὶν [ν]ενομοθετημένο[ε] is a novel formulation. Cf. Eus. *DE* 1.5.2 ὁ πρὸς τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ νενομοθετημένος νόμος.

6–7 ἐξηκ[σ]ταεναύσιον. Compounds in -εναύσιος are rare, and this example appears not to be found elsewhere. πεντεναύσιος in Tz. *H.* 8.280 is also a hapax; otherwise LSJ records only *κατεναύσιος* (IG XIV 256, 257). Contrast the more pedestrian ἐξηκονταετὶς in VI 889 = SB XVI 12306.10, in a *responsum* by Constantine of 324 concerning tax exemptions for those over sixty.

7–8 τῶν δημοσίων ἐπικεφαλίων. For the expression, cf. P. Kron. 16.30 (138) τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐ[π]ικεφάλια δημοσία. ἐπικεφάλια(α) was a collective designation for capitation taxes, which included but were not limited to the poll-tax, as e.g. in XII 1438 (late II); more than poll-tax is meant in XVII 2131 10 (207) τὰ κατ' ἔτος ὀφειλόμενα ἐπικεφάλια. See S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (1938) 411 n. 70, and cf. A. H. El-Mosallamy, *Pap. Congr. XX* (1994) 459–62. In view of the reference to Petechon's age, we may think of the poll-tax. BGU IV 1140 = CPJ II 151 (Alex.; 4 BC) indicates that sixty-year-olds were exempt from the *λαογραφία* at the very beginning of Roman rule, and 5319 now shows that this rule remained valid in the early third century, though there is evidence from the Arsinoite nome that tax-collectors tried to collect poll-tax from men who claimed to be 61 or 62. On age and poll-

tax in Roman Egypt, see generally T. G. Parkin, *Old Age in the Roman World* (2003) 154–63.

9 ὄλων ἐτῶν. The phrase also in C. Pap. Gr. I 4.24 (Alex.; 13 BC).

10 At the beginning of the line, apparently πεντα, but it would be too bold to read πέντα[ι], i. πέντε. Then, καί is likely, followed by δύο, but it is impossible to reconstruct the phrase.

13 ρχ]εδὸν εἰπεῖν. Cf. P. Mich. IX 530.5 (278), XVII 2133 16–17 (308), CPR XVIIA 6.5 (316), VII 1033 5 (392), etc.

14 κε]λεῦσαι μ[ε?

16 ἀπ[ολυθῆναι?

17 ε]ἰς τὸν λοιπὸν μ[ε χρόνον?

L. M. BORTOLANI

5320. LEASE OF IRRIGATION WORKS

29 4B.46/B(1–5)a front

18 × 16.6 cm

227/8

Plate XI

The papyrus has a margin of 1.5 cm at the top and 2.5 cm at the left; it is incomplete at the right and the foot. As most of the body of the text appears to survive, the loss at the foot is not likely to be great. The loss at the right is uncertain, but can be estimated with a fair degree of probability at some 30 to 35 letters in the upper part in view of the supplements we might expect, see especially the notes to lines 1, 6–7, and 23–4. The whole is written in the same hand, a competent semi-cursive such as is often found in the earlier third century. On the back is a copy of a letter to the strategi of the Heptanomia, which will appear in a later volume.

The document belongs to the papers of Claudia Isidora also known as Apia, a well-known landowner in the first quarter of the third century, with extensive holdings in the Oxyrhynchite nome: see *BASP* 41 (2004) 139–53, and *LXX* 4772–8. It is among those documents which belong after Isidora's property had passed into the control of the fiscus, whether by confiscation or some other method, an event which had happened by summer 225 at the latest. This accords with the date of 5320, which refers to a current year 7 (line 4) and must relate to the reign of Severus Alexander, i.e. to 227/8. It is interesting that 5320 is like a few other texts from Isidora's papers in having a different, unrelated document written on the other side: cf. VII 1064, XII 1525, and XIV 1736.

It is unfortunate that so much of the text is lost, since there is a good deal in the document which is without any close parallel, although individual phrases, even clauses, can be paralleled. What survives is a lease addressed to an official administering part of what had belonged to Isidora's estate. The lessees are a father and son, and what they are offering to lease is, apparently, not the land itself, but τοὺς ποτισμούς (4), i.e. the irrigation of the land; this seems to be the inescapable conclusion if μισθώσασθ[αι] is correctly read in line 3. 5320 presumably followed more or less the pattern of leases such as *SPP* XX 70 (261), βουλόμεθα μισθώσασθαι παρὰ σοῦ τὰς ὑπαρχούσας σοι ... ἐλεῶνος ... ἀρούρας πένται; but the object being leased is not the land but τοὺς ποτισμούς of the land.

It thus falls into the category μίσθωσις τῶν ἔργων, analysed by A. Jördens, *P. Heid.* V,

pp. 222–32; cf. also T. M. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt* (2012) 79–81. Of the examples discussed by Jördens, the closest to 5320 is P. Heid. V 344 (311) and its duplicate, published subsequently, P. Col. X 284; both are fragmentary but to some extent supplement one another and are leases of τὰ ὑδροπαροχικ[ὰ ἔργα] πάντα of an ἀμπελικῶν κτήματος. L 3582 (442) is probably similar but only a fragment remains. P. Col. 284.6 specifically mentions οὗς ποτισμοὺς ποιήσομαι (cf. also lines 17 and 18). Probably we should compare the mention of ἡς ἄλλη[ς] ἔχω μισθώσεως ποτισμ[ῶν] ἑτέρου σου ἀμπελικῶν κτήματος in P. Mich. XVIII 792.22. Jördens lists another nine examples of leases for work on vineyards, τὰ ἀμπελοργ[ικὰ] ἔργα πάντα. What is apparently unique about 5320 is that it does not relate to viticulture (unless this is mentioned in the part of the document which is lost) in contrast to all the other texts quoted by Jördens.

The land in question is clearly garden land, for which see M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten* (1925) 311–15, and more generally his chapter on ‘Fruchtbäume’, pp. 292ff. On pp. 203–10 he discusses several ‘Feldfrüchte’, in particular ‘Kürbisse’, κολόκυνθος, κολοκύνθη, on pp. 202–3. In 5320 we would seem to have a cucumber farm or bed (5 *κυκῶνος*), which Schnebel does not discuss, although cucumbers are several times mentioned along with κολόκυνθος, as in P. Hamb. I 99, P. Col. VIII 232, PSI XIII 1338, P. Ross. Georg. II 19, PSI IV 434. In PSI XIII 1338.8–9, the lessee of a vineyard is required to grow διὰ μὲν χειμ[ῶ]νος λάχανα αἰδ[ώ]διμα (l. ἐδώδιμα), [δ]ιὰ δὲ θέρους κυκ[ύ]ρα καὶ κ[ολοκ]υθ[ῶ]νας; note also the *κυκο(πωλῶν)* and *κολοκυνθ()* in P. Köln V 228 (10, 17). Cucumber farms or beds by themselves occur only rarely in the papyri, and the only other leases referring to them which I have noted are P. Petrie II 44 (*κυκῆρατον*), P. Tebt. III 815 fr. 5 (29 *κυκῶνα*), P. Ent. 73 (*κυκῆρατον*), all Ptolemaic, and P. Hamb. I 99 (*κυκῆρατον*), 1st cent. AD. In P. Cair. Masp. III 67313.47, seven *κυκῶν[α]ς καρποφορουμένους νῦν* form part of an inheritance. On leases of land in the Oxyrhynchite nome, see J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* (1996). She does not discuss garden land as such, but cf. her index s.v. orchards, and especially pp. 228–36 on ‘Leases and Labour in Vineyards’. As she points out (p. 229), leases of vineyards frequently specify various vegetables, fruits, and fruit trees among extra payments to the landlord. This was because vineyards allowed the growing of fruit and vegetables on land not needed for the vines, cf. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 253–4.

The lessees are making use of a *μηχανή* (*sakiyeh*), worked by animals (6ff.). The basic discussion for such equipment remains that by Schnebel, 73–84; see most recently M. Malouta and A. Wilson, ‘Mechanical Irrigation: Water-Lifting Devices in the Archaeological Evidence and in the Egyptian Papyri’, in A. Bowman and A. Wilson (edd.), *The Roman Agricultural Economy* (2013) 273–305; also W. Habermann, *Zur Wasserversorgung einer Metropole* (2000), Index s.v. Wasserhebeeinrichtungen. On the use of animals to work a *μηχανή*, see A. Świderek, *La propriété foncière privée* (1960) 96–9, Schnebel 82–3, Habermann 259ff. For the use of a *μηχανή* to carry out *ποτισμοί*, cf. e.g. XVII 2137 26–7 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ποτισμοὺς χρῆσ[ι]μα τῆς *μηχανῆς* ἄνευ φόρου. As usual the lessee is responsible for providing the animals used to work the *μηχανή* (7ff.). On division of responsibility between lessor and lessee, see in particular IV 729 with Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 233–5.

In lines 15ff., provision is made for a *προχρεία*, i.e. money advanced by the lessor to the lessees; this is not uncommon, e.g. 729 13. In several texts, as in 5320, the advance is made to assist with the cost of the animals, so PSI IX 1078 (356), P. Col. 284 = P. Heid. 344 (311). Noteworthy in the present text is the elaborate wording regarding its repayment (17–23). Lines 23ff. contain further provisions for the duties of the lessees and possibly the lessor. It seems probable that they come towards the end of the lease and that little has been lost at the foot.

I am grateful to Dr Ben Henry for a number of suggestions.

- Αὐρηλίω Θέωνει πραγματευτῇ τῶν πρότερον Κλαυδίας Ἰσιδώρας τῆς κα[
 Ἀπίας c.25
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίω ἂν Ἀττίου Πλουτίωνος μητρὸς Πλουτάρχης καὶ τούτ[ο]υ τοῦ
 υἱοῦ . . . [c.25 ἄμ-
 φοτέρων ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Πανευει περὶ Cέρυφιν. ἐκουσίως ἐπιδεχόμεθα
 μι[θ]ώσασθ[αι παρὰ σοῦ c.20
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ζ (ἔτους) τοὺς ποτισμοὺς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ οὐσίᾳ περὶ
 Cέρυφιν . . . [c.30
 5 πρότερον Ἀχιλλέως καὶ Cαραπίωνος κικυῶνος καλουμ[έ]νων ς[. . .] ν [c.30
 ἀπὸ τῶν προσόντων ὕδρευμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐπικειμένων τούτο[ις] μηχαν[ῶ]ν [c.30
 cιδηρώσει, παρέχοντες ἑαυτοῖς κτήνη μηχαναρίους ζευκτηρία[ς λ]ουία
 ς[χοι]νία [c.30
 εἰς κατ' ἔτος τῶν μὲν ἄλλων μηνῶν οἱ συνήθεις καὶ δεόμενοι, ἀπὸ δὲ α
 Φαρμο[υ]θι c.30
 ταιοι μισθοῦ τῶν αὐτῶν ποτισμῶν κα[τ'] ἔτος ἐκ γεομετρ[ί]α[ς ἀπὸ κορμοῦ ἐπὶ
 κορμ[ὸν c.25 δρα-
 10 χμῶν τετρακοσίων· τοὺς δὲ συναγομένους μισθοὺς ἀπολημψόμεθα κατ' ἔτος [c.25 τῶν
 μισθουμένων ἀρουρῶν δραχμὰς διςχειλ[ί]ας, Χοιακ δραχμὰς ἑκατ[ό]ν, καὶ ἀπὸ
 Τυβι [ἔ]ως c.25 ἀπὸ
 Παννι ἕως ἐξενίαυτα Φαωφι μεθ' ἃς ὑπολογήσονται ἑαυτῶ οἱ τῆς οὐσίας
 ἀργυρικ[ὰς δραχμὰς c.20
 νους κατὰ μῆνα τὸ αἰροῦν· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τοῦ πρώτου ἐνιαυτοῦ μι[ε]θῶν
 ὁμολ[ογοῦ]μεν c.25
 τ ν καὶ δαπάνην κατασπορᾶς δραχμὰς χειλίας πεντακοσίας ἄς . . . [c.30
 15 ὁμολογοῦμεν δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἐσχηκέναι ἐν προχρείᾳ πρὸς ὑπηρεσίᾳ[ν] τῶν [c.35

δεκατρεῖς, δαμάλεις ἀπὸ δαμαλῶνος δύο, ὑποτι(θ)ίας δὲ τέσσαρας τα[. . .] [c.35
 χειλίων ἑξακοσίων τεσσαράκοντα τῶν κτηνῶν τὴν ἐς[ο]μ[ένην c.35
 ται τα [.] [.] ντα ἡμῶν βοϊκὰ κτήνη καὶ αἴρεςις ἔσται περὶ τουτ[c.35
 μῆσεως ἤτις ἐὰν μὲν ὑπεραίρη τὸ το[ῦ] ἀργυρίου τάλαντον ἐν καὶ δρ[αχμὰς c.35
 20 ψόμεθα, ἐὰν δὲ ἐλάσσονος, τὸ ἐνδέον ἀποδώσωμεν, ἐὰν δὲ μῆ [c.8] [c.30
 νην συντίμησιν ἄνευ τόκου, ὧν δ' ἂν παραλάβωμεν ἐν προχ[ρεία . . .]
 χορτοπα[τη c.25
 θα καὶ ἀποδώσωμεν ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ χρόνου τὰ ἴσα χωρὶς διαφόρου [c.7
]σωμ. [c.25 δρα-
 χμὰς εἴκοσι, τῆς καθάρσεως τῶν ὄν[τ]ων ἐν τοῖς κτήμασι κ[αὶ τοῖς πωμ]αρίοις
 φ[οινίκων c.15 μεμι-
 σθωμένους, ἀφ' ὧν ἔξομεν τὸ ἐκβηρόμενον σεβένινον ἐκ τῶ[ν c.7]ι[
 c.25 πωμα-
 25 ρίοις εἷς τε τὰς ζευκτηρίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τῶν μη[χανῶν ἐπισκευὰς c.4] [c.30
 νικης συντάξεως οὐσης πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς μεμισθ[ωμένους c.12] [c.30
 καὶ ἐποικίον καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ ἀποτεθησομένων γενῶν [c.50
 νοντας τὸ ν' ἐξ ἔθους διδόμενον τοῖς ἀγροφύλαξι μις[θὸν c.45
 ἀποφερομένους τὰ παλαιά, χρησόμεθα δὲ πρὸς τε οἰκ[.] [c.50
 30 c.6] καὶ λημψόμεθα κατ' ἔτος Ἀμερυς[ίοις c.45
] μῆδὲν τῆς [c.50
] traces [
] traces [
]τ . . . [

1 l. Θέωνι ἰσιδωρας 2 αυρηλιων: ὦν' corrected from ου και a correction, perhaps
 from απο υἱου 4 ζς ὑπαρχοντων 6 ὑδρευματων 7]ουῖα 9 l. γεωμετρίας
 10, 30 l. (-)ληψόμεθα 11, 14 l. (-)χιλίας 12 παῦνι, ὑπολογησονται 1. ἐαυτοῦς? 17 l. χιλίων
 18 βοῖκα 19 ὑπεραιορη 22 l. ἀποδώσωμεν ἴσα 29 l. παλαιά

‘To Aurelius Theon, administrator of the [lands] formerly the property of Claudia Isidora also known as Apia, [now the property of the most sacred fiscus?], from Aurelii Attius son of Plution, mother Plutarche, and his son . . . both from the hamlet Paneui near Seryphis.

‘We willingly undertake to lease from you . . . of the current 7th year the irrigation of the . . . belonging to the estate near Seryphis . . . formerly [the property of?] Achilles and Sarapion, of a cucumber-bed, going by the name of [or: called “Cucumber-Bed”] . . . from the adjoining wells and the

irrigation machines appurtenant to them [fitted out with complete wooden fittings (?) and] ironwork, providing for ourselves animals, engineers, yoke-straps, [receptacles?], ropes ... annually in the other months the customary and necessary [watering?], but from the first of Pharmouthi ... every x days at remuneration for the said irrigation yearly as a result of land measurement from trunk to trunk ... four hundred drachmas; and we shall receive the total pay annually ... for the aruras being leased two thousand drachmas, in Choiak one hundred drachmas, and from Tybi [up to ... from] Payni up to Phaophi in the following year, with the silver [drachmas] that the persons of the estate shall deduct for themselves ... the monthly instalment; and from the remunerations of the first year we acknowledge ... and expense of the sowing, one thousand five (?) hundred drachmas, which ...

'And we acknowledge that we have received thence in advance payment for the care of the ... thirteen, heifers from the byre two, and young animals four ... -thousand six hundred forty for the animals the future [valuation?] ... of our oxen and the choice concerning these shall be ... valuation, which, if it exceeds the one talent and x drachmas of silver ... we shall receive (?), but if it is less, we shall pay the shortfall, and if not ... [we shall repay?] the aforesaid estimate without interest and whatever we receive in advance payment ... threshed straw ... and we shall repay at the end of the period [of the lease] an equal amount without any extra ... twenty drachmas, the clearing of the date-palms which are in the plots and the orchards [being the responsibility of?] us the lessees, from which we shall get the palm-fibre produced from the ... [in the?] orchards for the yoke-straps and the other equipment of the irrigation machines (?) ... the workmen's remuneration being the responsibility of us the lessees ... and the farmstead and the crops to be stored there ... receiving (?) the pay which is customarily given to the field-guards ... gaining the old (?), and we shall use ... both for ... and we shall receive annually at the Amesysia ...'

1 Aurelius Theon appears to be unattested elsewhere as a *πραγματευτής*.

For *πραγματευταί* administering the estate which formerly belonged to Claudia Isidora, see SB XIV 11403 (232/3), Aurelius Lucius, and LXX 4777 (232), Aurelius Heraclides (name corrected from Claudius Asclepiades). Of the estate, the latter document says simply *οὐσίας πρότερον Κλαυδίας Ἰσιδώρας τῆς καὶ Ἀπίας*, whereas the former adds *νυνὶ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου ταμείου*. 5320 was no doubt similar, very possibly exactly the same as SB 11403, supplying *νυνὶ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου ταμείου*. This would give a loss at the right of some 30 letters.

For Claudia Isidora also known as Apia, see the introduction.

2 *Ἀὐρηλίω ὄν*. The writer assumed the application was from one person and so wrote *αὐρηλιου*; he then wrote omega over *ου* and inserted *ν* above the line. This required a further correction later in the line.

Ἀπτίου. A good Roman name, only rarely attested in the papyri, e.g. P. Gen. II 97.6, BGU XIV 2386.45.

The reading after *Πλουτάρχης* is far from certain. The next word can just be read *καί*, if we assume a correction; then *τούτ[ο]ν τοῦ νιού* appears to be possible, since the diaeresis over *ι* is clear.

3 *Πανευει*. A place of this name is attested in about 20 texts from the Oxyrhynchite nome; see Benaissa, *RSON*² s.v. It is described as an *ἐποίκιον* in XXXIV 2714 5 (256) and XVI 2025 19 (Apion archive); elsewhere as a *κώμη*, e.g. P. Harr. II 212.6, P. Köln V 234.

ἐκουσίως ἐπιδέχομαι or *ἐπιδεχόμεθα* is nearly always followed by *μισθώσασθαι*. It is far from easy to read this here, the initial *μ* being especially difficult. If it can indeed be read as *μ*, somewhat distorted, what follows could just be interpreted as *ις[θ]ώσας*, thus giving us the expected verb. For the rest of this line one might think of something like *παρὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔτη X ἀπὸ month's name*.

4 From what we know of the dates of Claudia Isidora, year 7 must be that of Severus Alexander, which equates to 227/8.

τοῦς ποτισμούςς. Normally the responsibility of the lessee and so no doubt here. To my knowledge

there is no other example in the papyri of the leasing of *τοὺς ποτισμούς*: see the introduction and the reference there to Jördens in P. Heid. V; note in particular XLVII 3354 5–6, an offer to lease τὰ χειρικὰ ἀμπελοργικὰ ἔργα ἀπα[ντα] καὶ τὴν ἐπάρδευσιν of a vineyard, i.e. a specific reference to watering. Cf. also P. Ross. Georg. II 19 (14), where the lessee not only has the right (as in several other leases) to use a μηχανή for τὸς ποτισμούς but can ποτίζειν ... οὐδ' ἐὰν βούληται ποτισμοὺς ἐκ τῆς μηχανῆς καὶ τῶν ὑδρευμάτων.

After *Ζέρυφω*, the ink is badly smudged. It may be just possible to read and supply e.g. κτη[μάτων καὶ πωμαρίων, cf. 23.

5 No doubt the reference is to a property formerly owned by Achilleus and Sarapion. The two names occur together in P. Congr. XV 19.5 (late III), but the document is said to be from the Arsinoite nome.

κυκῶνος. On the relatively few occurrences of cucumber-beds in the papyri, see the introduction. Cucumbers occur among special payments to the landlord in XIV 1631 25 if *κυκῶν* is correctly restored; cf. *κυκῶν* in P. Ross. Georg. II 19.14. (According to another view, *κυκῶνος* καλοῦμι[έ]ων may mean 'called "Cucumber-Bed"', agreeing with the genitive plural possessions introduced in the previous line, cf. CPR XVIII 4.7–8 ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν σοι περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν [C]ελλ[ῶν ἀρουρῶν]ν καλουμένων Φρέατος, and for the name preceding καλουμένων, XLVI 3269 3–4 πρὸς ταῖς περὶ Πέλα θύραις Τα(ν)ύρεως καλουμέναις, 'called (the gates) of Tanyris'.)

6–7 ὑδρέματα and μηχαναὶ are frequently associated. Especially relevant for the wording in these lines are XXXIV 2723 9ff. (III), a sale of a vineyard which includes τὰ προσόντα ὑδρέματα cὺν τῇ ἐπικειμένη μηχανῇ ἐξηρτικμένη πάχη ξυλικῆ καταρτία καὶ σιδηρώσι καὶ τὰ τούτων χρηστήρια; IX 1208 14, a sale of land ἐν αἷς ὑδρέματα καὶ μηχαν[αν]ῆ ἐξηρτικμένη πάχη ξυλικῆ καταρτία καὶ σιδη[ρ]ώσαι; cf. also LI 3638 7ff., PSI IX 1072.9–11, P. Oxy. Hels. 41.11–12. The supplement in the present text was no doubt similar (if not exactly the same), indicating a loss at the right of some 30–35 letters, i.e. about a third of each line.

7 σιδηρώσει. The word occurs frequently in connection with μηχαναὶ; see in particular P. Köln V 234.8 n., with the references there to Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 71–84, and T. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes im hellenistischen Ägypten* (1913) 82–5.

In P. Oxy. Hels. 41, cf. 6–7 n., the text goes on in lines 19–21 to state that the τροχός is to be used by the lessee πρὸς τοὺς τῶν ἔδαφῶν ποτισμοὺς.

παρέχοντες ἑαυτοῖς κτήνη μηχαναρίους ζευκτηρία[ς] . λ]ουῖα ζ[χο]νία [. It is normal (though not universal) for the lessee(s) to be responsible for the provision of animals to work the μηχανή; cf. e.g. P. Oxy. Hels. 41.21–3 παρέχω(ν) ἑαυτῷ κτήνη μηχαναρίους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐνχρήζοντα πάντα. However, the words which follow κτήνη in the present text are somewhat unusual: the combination of κτήνη μηχαναρίους is only found in the present text and P. Oxy. Hels. 41.22 (though it could well occur in P. Harr. I 79 = SB VIII 9921.24] . υς ζευκτηρίας), and it is noteworthy that in both texts no conjunction is used.

ζευκτηρίαί, 'yoke-straps', are found several times in papyri with reference to a μηχανή and the animals used to work it; see in particular P. Mert. II 79.3, with the reference in the note to Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 73–4; XLIX 3511 17, with R. Hübner's note to line 17 in *ZPE* 30 (1978) 280; Habermann, *Wasserversorgung* 200. Cf. also P. Lond. III 1177, where lines 167–8 (Habermann 18) have a reference to χοινῶν καὶ ζευκτηριῶν κ[αί] κομμάτ(ων) εἰς μηχανάς. The term is transliterated into Latin as *zeucterías* in O. Claud. I 131.3.

The next word is of doubtful meaning. κλουῖον occurs in VI 936 6 (κλουῖον ὦν), XXIV 2424 18 (κρεῶν κλουῖον), and P. Iand. Zen. 53 (A 8 μῆλων κλουῖον, B 51 ἐν κλουῖω μικρῶι μῆλα; A 10 ἐν κλουῖω

μήκων, B 2 μήκων ἐν κλουίῳ); also in SB VIII 9900.8, where we should divide κλουία χοι[ν]ία in view of the occurrence of μηχανῆς and εἰδη]ρώσει in the two preceding lines. It must refer to a receptacle of some kind. Most important for us is the word's occurrence spelt χλοῦια in P. Harr. 79.24; the first edition reads] υς ζευκτηρίας χλοῦιας χ[.]ια[, but in the republication as SB 9921 the final part is given as χλοῦια (l. κλούια) χ[ου]ία. In the present text we must have the same word, whether spelt κλουία or χλοῦια (the diaeresis over the iota is clear).

8 εἰς. At the start εἰς and εἰς are equally possible in this hand. The former is the more difficult reading, since normal rules of syllabic division ought to imply that it was preceded by a vowel. With εἰς we could perhaps have οἷ to precede, with the antecedent being e.g. ποτισμοί.

οἱ συνήθει καὶ δεόμενοι. XXXVI 2767 II refers to τοὺς συνήθει ποτισμοῦς of a persea tree at Oxyrhynchus; similarly XLI 2969 9 and 2994 4, and cf. P. Vind. Sal. 8.15, where the lessor of a vineyard provides oxen for τοῖς συνήθει ποτισμοῖς, and τοὺς καθήκοντα ποτισμοῦς in P. Ross. Georg. II 19.30. This strongly suggests that the masculine nominative plural noun which must have occurred here was ποτισμοί, cf. the preceding note. For δεόμενοι, cf. ποτισμοῖς τοῖς δέουσι in P. Hamb. I 23.24 and BGU IV 119.24.

9 τῶν. The alpha is strangely made and may be an overwriting. (Possibly the scribe wrote τέταρτοι *vel sim.*, and then corrected.) IV 729 24, a contract concerning a vineyard, says, of the lessees, ποι]ήονται τοὺς ποτισμοῦς ... πεμπταίους; it seems very likely that the present text was similar, referring to watering being carried out every so many days. This supports the idea suggested in the previous note that the noun to be supplied is ποτισμοί. For watering specified to be every so many days, cf. e.g. P. Vind. Sal. 9.10-11 ποτίω δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ χωρίον τῷ μὲν χειμῶνι δι' ἡμερῶν δώδεκα, τῷ δὲ θέρει δι' ἡμερῶν ὀκτώ.

ἀπὸ κορμοῦ ἐπὶ κορμῶν. Cf. P. Col. X 280.16 ἀ[πὸ] κορ[μ]οῦ ἐπὶ κορμῶν (so WBH: the edition gives κ[αὶ ἀπὸ] κορ[μ]οῦ ἐπὶ κορμῶν); LSJ Rev. Suppl. s.v. κορμός (A).

11-12 Payment in monthly instalments is frequently attested; a good example is XLVII 3354 21-5.

12 ἕως ἐξενίαυτα. I have not found this combination elsewhere, though cf. P. Col. VIII 232.7 ὡς ἐξενίαυτα κατ' ἔτος.

ἐξενίαυτα is especially common in reference to fruit trees and orchard leases: see H. C. Youtie, *TAPA* 92 (1961) 550-53 = *Scriptiunculae* i 356-9. No doubt we should read ἐξενίαυτα before Φαωφι in PSI XIII 1338.11.

μεθ' ἃς ὑπολογῆονται ἑαυτῷ οἱ τῆς οὐσίας ἀργυρικ[ὰς] δραχμάς. In 729 13, the text says ἐξ ὧν ὑπολογι(σ)θήσονται αἱ διδόμεναι τοῖς ὕδροπαρόχοις ὑπὲρ ποτισμῶν (the noun to be understood is δραχμαί). Here it seems likely that ἑαυτῷ is a slip for ἑαυτοῦς.

13 κατὰ μῆνα τὸ αἰροῦν. So e.g. P. Fay. 34.14, where it is translated 'in monthly instalments'.

14 τ ν: we expect των, which is not an easy reading.

πεντακοσίας: the first three letters seem to have been corrected, possibly from (or to?) ἐπ.

15 For a loan advanced by the lessor to the lessees, see the introduction.

πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν τῶν [. Cf. e.g. P. Col. X 280.8 (late III) ἀπὸ τῆς προχρείας πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν τῶν τῆς κτήματος ποτισμῶν]; similarly P. Mich. XVIII 792.7. But here we might think rather of ὑπηρεσία of animals, as in XXXVI 2782 8-9 τῆς ὑπηρεσίας τῶν κτηνῶν; cf. P. Nag. Hamm. 72.

16ff. On the use of animals to work a μηχανή, see the introduction. On their use specifically in garden lands and vineyards, see BGU XV 2485.16-17 n., with special reference to 729.

16 δεκατρεῖς. Possibly the total of the animals to be hired or the end of the sum to be advanced to the lessees.

δαμάλεις ἀπὸ δαμαλῶνος δύο. For heifers used to work a μηχανή, see Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 321 n. 2.

δαμαλώνος. The word is new, but correctly formed; cf. *καμηλών* for a camel's stall. (I owe the suggestion to Dr Ben Henry.)

ὑποτι(θ)ίας. The correction is easy and must surely be correct, although I know of no other example of ὑποτίθιος being used in this connection (the adjective can be applied to animals, see LSJ s.v., and P. Heid. IV 302 i 18).

17 τὴν ἐς[ο]μ[ένην]. In the context, the noun to be supplied is almost certainly *συντίμησιν*; in 729 42, we have a reference to τῆς τότε ἐσομένης αὐτῶν [animals] *συντιμήσεως*. For the estimation of the value of animals for this purpose, cf. also BGU 2485.16–17 n.

18 τα . [.] . [.] ντα. ὄντα is of course possible, and it may be just possible to read π[ά]ντα (not ἅπαντα), but neither solves the whole problem at this point. Possibly τὰ τ[ε] π[ά]ντα? The phrase occurs in BGU IV 1100.13.

βοϊκὰ κτήνη. Oxen are by far the commonest animals mentioned in this connection; for a list of texts in which they occur, see Habermann, *Wasserversorgung* 259 n. 556.

18ff. καὶ αἴρεσις ἕται κατλ. Cf. the somewhat similar wording in X 1273 29–32, a marriage contract, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ συντεμίσσεως ἱματίων αἴρεσις ἔσται περὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν γαμουμένην ἔχειν αὐτὰ τῆς τότε ἐσομένης αὐτῶν συντεμίσσεως καὶ λαβεῖν [τ]ὸ ἐνδέον ἐν ἀρ[γ]υρίῳ ἢ αὐτὴν τὴν προκειμένην συντεμίσσιν; cf. also 729 41ff. Note the frequent occurrences of αἴρεσις with *συντίμησις* in P. Bub. I 1 in the expression εἰ ... ἢ δοθεῖσα αἴρεσις οὐκ ἔστιν ἐλάττων τῆς συντιμήσεως.

19 μῆσεως. Of the possible supplements, *συντι*||μῆσεως may be regarded as certain in the context; cf. BGU IV 1085 ii 3–4 καὶ οὐκ ὑπεραίρει τῆ[ν] *συντιμήσιν* τῶν δύ[ο] τ[α]λ[άντων], and PSI 8.37 ἐὰν δὲ ἐλάττωνος γίνηται[ι ...] *συντιμήσιν* προσαποδώσουσι.

20 ψόμεθα. Presumably λημ[ε]||ψόμεθα or a compound.

ἐὰν δὲ ἐλάσσονος, τὸ ἐνδέον ἀποδώσομεν. Cf. BGU VII 1564.11–12 ἐὰν δέ τι ... ἐλάσσονος *συντιμηθῆ*, ἀποδώσουσι; republished in Sel. Pap. II 395, where ἐλάσσονος *συντιμηθῆ* is translated 'is judged to be of inferior value'; also BGU IV 118.37 (19 n.).

ἐὰν δὲ μη . [: the trace suits a. ἀ[ποδώσωμ]ε[ν] ?

20–21 προκειμέ[ν]ην is a likely supplement.

21 εἰς] χορτοπά[τημα or εἰς] χορτοπά[τητον? For both words, see XLI 2985 2 n.

22 [σωμ . [: perhaps (καὶ) -]σωμ[ε]ν or -]σωμ[ε]θα, again with ω for ο.

23–4 τῆς καθάρσεως τῶν ὄν[τ]ων ἐν τοῖς κτήμασι κ[αὶ] τοῖς πωμ[α]ρίοις φ[οινίκων ... μεμ]ε[σ]θω- μένουσ. No doubt line 23 will have ended οὕτως πρὸς τοὺς μεμ[ε]ι, which would be enough to fill the line. *κάθαρσις* is a general term which can refer to more than one agricultural activity; see P. Vind. Sal. 8.13(2) n. Cf. P. Soter. 4 (87) where, in lines 43–4, it is stated that *καθάρσεως τοῦ φοινικῶνος ὄλου τῶν τε βάσεων καὶ φύλλων καὶ σεβεννίων* shall be the responsibility of the lessee; see also P. Phil. 13.18.

24 τὸ ἐκβηκόμενον σεβένιον. These are 'palm fibres'; see Habermann, *Wasserversorgung* 190 n. 279, who regards the word as derived from Egyptian. For their use in relation to a *μηχανή*, cf. P. Lond. I 131R = SB VIII 9699.609 *τιμ(ῆς) τριχ(ίων) σεβεννίων δύο εἰς τὴν [μηχανήν]*. A. Świderek, *La propriété foncière privée* (1960) 73, translates 'pour deux cordes de fibre de palmier destinées à la machine'. A private letter, PSI VIII 888.8, mentions *τοῦ σεβεννίου* in connection with *δευκτηρίας (sic)*.

24–5 τῶν (όντων) ἐν τοῖς κτήμασι καὶ τοῖς πωμ[α]ρίοις?

26 No doubt *τεκτο*||*νικῆς συντάξεως*, which is the responsibility of the lessee also in P. Oxy. Hels. 41.24, PSI IX 1072.11, and SB XX 14291.18; cf. 729 12.

27 ἐποικίου. For the inclusion of a farmstead in a lease, cf. e.g. LI 3638 8 (vineyard; 220).

τῶν ἐκεῖ ἀποτεθησομένων γενῶν. Presumably ἐκεῖ refers to the ἐποικίον where the γένη are to be stored (under guard, cf. e.g. XLVII 3354 18–19 (of wine) *παραφυλάξωμεν ἐφ' ὅσον ἐκ[εῖ] ἀπόκειται*).

27-8]]*νόνας τὸν ἕξ ἔθους διδόμενον τοῖς ἀγροφύλαξι μις[θόν*. See XVI 1913 16-18 for the responsibility of the *ἀγροφύλακες* for keeping an eye on a *μηχανή*; cf. P. Med. II 42, where a *γεωργός* accuses them of negligence with respect to *μηχανικῶν ὀργάνων*. At the start, one might think of *λαμβάν[νοντας*, cf. e.g. P. Heid. V 350.33-4; perhaps the contract stated that the lessor was to advance to the lessees the sum which they were required to pay to the guards.

30 *Ἄμενος[ίαις*. References to this birth festival of Isis occur several times in leases with reference to additional payments, normally from lessees to the lessor; they are regularly accompanied by *κατ' ἔτος*, indicating annual payments, etc. Cf. on the festival D. Bonneau, *CE* 49 (1974) 366-79; ead., *ASAE* 70 (1985) 365-70; F. Perpillou-Thomas, *Fêtes d'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine* (1993) 66-71; P. Louvre I 4.67f. n.

J. D. THOMAS

5321. LETTER OF THONIUS TO ALEXANDER AND ANTINOUS

17 2B.53/F(d)

13.5 × 33.5 cm

Third century
Plate X (front)

Thonius writes, perhaps from Alexandria (13 n.), in response to a letter from Alexander, a priest of the Thesmophorion, and Antinous. One of the two men addressed appears to be his brother (27). In the damaged opening, a visit of the prefect is mentioned (4-5). After this, three matters can be distinguished. First, orders have been issued to Alexander and Antinous. Thonius advises them to preserve the orders so that they can use them to act on the basis of precedent: unwelcome liturgical duties have apparently been imposed on one or both of the men addressed. Secondly, Thonius has often been dealing with a certain Hermon over money owed from holding an office which his brother has failed to pay. Thirdly, Thonius has learnt that a *tabularius* is to travel with a list of people in arrears and orders from a procurator to demand payment: he will be meeting the assessor in Oxyrhynchus. Thonius, who is in the service of the procurator, has tried to keep Alexander and Antinous off the list. The letter continues in the margin: a certain Serenus has been dismissed from an office.

The hand is oval, rightward-sloping, and regular; it may be Thonius' own. Comparable hands include those of LV 3784, dated to 227-8 or 281-2, and Schubart, *PGB* 36 (BGU IV 1062) and 37b (BGU IV 1073), dated to 236 (BL VIII 40) and 274 respectively.

Diaeresis is applied to initial *ι* and *υ*; a blank space is used as punctuation (30, 42); and horizontal bars are commonly added or crossbars or obliques extended as fillers at line-end. An apostrophe is placed between two gammas (17). *ει* is written for long *ι*, and *-τε* once for *-ται* (42). *χ* replaces *κ* before *θ*.

The sheet was folded in half horizontally, rolled up with the lower half on the inside, and squashed. The upper half has the address running upwards on the back.

Θώνιος Ἀλε]ξάνδρω καὶ Ἀντινώω [το]ῖς
c.9]ίς πολλα χαίρειν.

- ἔκομισάμη]ν ὑμῶν τὰ γράμματα δι' ὧν
 ἐδηλώσατε πρ[ώ]τ[ον] μὲν ἐγνωκότες τὴν
 5 τοῦ ἐπάρχου]ν ἐπιδημίαν ἕως ἂν ἐκ
 c.8 γρ]αφέντων, δεύτερον δὲ καὶ
 c.13]αc ὡς τοῦ τοιούτου ε-
 c.12 π]επραγμένου. τὰ οὖν
 c.8 προ]εταχθέντα ἤτοι δι' ὑπο-
 10 μνηματικῶν] ἢ ἐκ θείων δ[ια]τάξεων
 . . .] . [. . .] . [πα]ρ' ὑμῶν ἴν' οὕτως καθ' ὁμοι-
 ότ]ητα προσέλθωμεν· ὁμοια γὰρ καὶ γὰρ
 εἶδρον ἐν τῷ Φαρβαιθίτῃ ὑπομνήματα
 ἀρχιερέω[ς], πῶς ἱερέα τοῦ ὄντος ἐκεῖ
 15 Κορείου ἀπέλυεν τῶν λειτουργιῶν
 καταδικάσας τὸν τότε φύλαρχον πρός-
 τιμον ὡς κ[α]κῶς αὐτὸν εἰσαγγείλας.
 ὅταν οὖν δ[ο]κ[ῆ] ὑμ[ε]ῖν, ἐ]πιστείλατέ μοι
 καὶ διαπέμπομαι ὑμῶν τὰ ὁμοιώματα.
 20 ἐν δὲ καὶ τ[ο]ῦτο ὑμᾶς ὑπομνησκω,
 ὅτι χρ[ό]νος το]σούτ[ο]ς διελήλυ[θ]εν
 c.12]αc ὑμῶν . [. . .] ν
 . . .] δ[.] . [. . .] . [.
 των δ[. . .] . ων προστετείμ[ηκε]ν
 25 τῷ ὀνόματι ὑμῶν εἰς λόγον φ[ό]ρου
 καίτοι γε πολλάκις προσπεποιήται
 μοι Ἑρμῶν λέγων ὅτι 'ὁ ἀδελφός σου
 κυρωθεὶς τὴν τάξιν οὐδὲν διέγραψεν
 μέχρι σήμερον', καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡμερη-
 30 εῖως διαβάλλω. ἄλλο δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὑ-
 μῶν προλέγω καὶ φανερὸν ποιῶ· ὁ τῆς
 τάξεως ταβουλάριος ἐμισθώσατο οὐσί-
 ας ἐν τῷ ἄνω Ἑρμοπολείτῃ καὶ βούλε-
 ται ἤδη ἐξελθεῖν εἰς ἐκεῖνα τὰ μέρη·
 35 κομιᾶτον γὰρ ἤδη ἔλαβεν [παρὰ το]ῦ
 ἐπιτρόπου δέμηνον[.] . [. . .] .
 καὶ ἐκέλευσε ὁ ἐπίτροπος λαβεῖν αὐτὸν

τὰς ἐχθές[ε]ικαὶ ἀπαιτῆσαι. πάντως
 οὐδὲν ἀνέρχεται εἰς τὸν Ὀξυρυγχίτην
 40 πρὸς τὸν συνκάθεδρον· τῆς γὰρ ἐχθέ-
 σεως γραφομένης ἠρώτησα περὶ ὑμῶν
 ἵνα ὑμᾶς μὴ ἐχθῆτε, καὶ τὸν περὶ ὑμῶν
 λόγον μέχρι σήμερον ὅσον προ[ο]εδρεύ-
 ω τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ πεποιήμαι [καὶ] ποιούμαι

Downwards in the left-hand margin:

45 c.34] θωκ[c.12]νωμαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ζερῆνος ἠλλάγη τῆς τάξεως
 c.48] με ἐχθεσι[. . .] . . . [.] . . [.] . . [.] . . [.] . . c. micθώσεως c[.]ρη . . []
 vac.(?) ἐρωῶσθαι ὑμᾶς] εὐχομαι.

Back, upwards along the fibres:

48 Ἀλεξάνδρω ἱερεῖ *design* Θεμοφο[ο]ρ[ε]ίου π(αρά)
design Θωνίου φίλου.

3, 25, 41 ὑμων 3, 8, 15, 21, 24, 34, 39 – added as filler at line-end 4–7 Offsets at line-end
 5 ἱεως 9, 13, 20 ὑπο- 11, 19, 22, 30–31 ὑμειν; l. ὑμῖν 14 ἱερεα 17 εἰσαγγείλας
 18 l. ὑμῖν 20 ὑμας 24 l. προστετίμηκεν 30 διαβαλλω ἄλλο 33 l. Ἑρμοπολίτη
 38, 40–41, 42, 46 l. ἐκθ- 39 l. Ὀξυρυγχίτην 40 l. συγκ- 42 ἵνα ὑμας, corr. from
 ὑμων? l. ἐκθῆται ἐχθητε ἕ και

'Thonius to Alexander and Antinous ... greetings. (I received) your letter, in which you (revealed) first that you have learnt of the prefect's visit, perhaps from ... written ..., and secondly ... since such a thing had been done ... Therefore (keep hold of) the orders given ... either through minutes or from imperial constitutions in order that we may thus proceed on the basis of precedent: for I found similar records of an *archiereus* in the Pharbaethites (on) how he released a priest of the Korion there from liturgies, condemning the then phylarch to a fine for wrongly nominating him. So when (you wish), give me your instructions and I will send you the similar cases.

'And I remind you of this one thing, that so much time has passed ... to you ... has charged an additional fine to your name for rent (or: tax). And yet Hermon has often made representations to me saying "your brother, having been confirmed in his appointment, has paid nothing to date", and day after day I put him off.

'And I forewarn you of this other thing and make it clear. The *tabularius* of the office has rented a property in the Upper Hermopolite and wants to travel to those parts now. He has already received two months' leave of absence from the procurator ... and the procurator ordered him to obtain the lists of arrears and press the demands for them. So he is certainly going up to the Oxyrynchite to the *synkathedros*: when the list of arrears was being drawn up, I asked him not to include you in the list, and I have been and still am discussing your affairs up to today for as long as I am attending the procurator ... I ..., since Serenus was released from the office ... arrears ... lease ...

'I pray (that you are well).'

Back:

'To Alexander, priest of the Thesmophorion, from Thonius, his friend.'

2 c.9]ις: probably τιμωτάτο]ις; φιλάτο]ις seems too short. On the back, Thonius refers to himself as φίλος, 'colleague' (or less likely 'friend'), which is usual in business letters of this kind.

3 έκομικάμη]ν. Cf. e.g. LVI 3853 2, XXXI 2596 3, SB XIV 11584.3-4, P. Mich. XI 622.3.

4-5 τήν | [του έπάρχου]ν έπιδημίαν. Thonius is no doubt referring to the *conventus* or διαλογισμός, the prefect's annual tour of inspection of the province under his jurisdiction, where he exercised his judicial functions to settle disputes. It was usually held in Pelusium for the Eastern Delta, Alexandria for the Western Delta, and Memphis or occasionally Ptolemais Euergetis (Arsinoe) for Middle and Upper Egypt, but the prefect had discretion to set its precise location. The *conventus* for the Heptanomia and Thebais was held between late January and April: see G. Foti Talamanca, *Ricerche sul processo nell'Egitto greco-romano* i (1974) 31-78, where the documentation bearing on the *conventus* is collected and discussed; R. Haensch, *Pap. Congr. XXI* (1997) i 320-91.

6 E.g. τών ύμίν γρ]αφέντων.

9-10 ύπο[[μνηματισμών]. On the ύπομνηματισμός (Lat. *commentarius*), see U. Wilcken, *Philologus* 53 (1894) 80-126, esp. 97-102; R. Haensch, *ZRG* 109 (1992) 219-45, esp. 233-5; B. Anagnostou-Cañas, *MEFRA* 112 (2000) 764-7. These 'day books', in which all proceedings before the office-holder were recorded, were available for consultation by interested parties. Before the original minutes were deposited in the state archives at Alexandria, a copy will have been made and placed in the local archives, where it might be consulted.

10 εκ θείων δ[ισ]τάξεων. This is the general term for judicial decisions of the emperor, including rescripts, *edicta*, and *decreta*: see H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* (1974) 129-30. Petitioners frequently cited previous decisions, e.g. from the minutes of trials, edicts, *responsa*, etc., to help their cases; on the use of legal precedent in litigation, see R. Katzoff, *ZRG* 89 (1972) 256-92; R. Haensch in H. Börm et al. (edd.), *Monumentum et instrumentum inscriptum* (2008) 124; A. Harker, *Loyalty and Dissidence in Roman Egypt* (2008) 101; B. Kelly, *Petitions, Litigation, and Social Control in Roman Egypt* (2011) 40.

12 προσέλωμεν. The first person plural suggests that Thonius is acting in conjunction with Alexander and Antinous. The extensive evidence for advocates appearing in the papyri is enumerated in J. A. Crook, *Legal Advocacy in the Roman World* (1995) 58-118. On advocates' roles in the public proceedings, see esp. Kelly (10 n.) 172-5.

13 εν τῷ Φαρβαιθίτη. The Pharbaethites is located in the eastern delta. Thonius is probably writing from Lower Egypt: he uses άνέρχεται of the *tabularius*' travel to the Oxyrhynchite nome (39), and he is in the service of the same procurator. We do not know what kind of procurator he was, but he must have been concerned with finances and the collection of taxes, and his office was presumably located in Alexandria.

It is possible that Thonius travelled to the Pharbaethites to carry out his researches: every nome had an archive. Otherwise, he may have found the precedents in the records of the Pharbaethites kept at Alexandria. On state and nome archives, see H.-J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemaeer und des Prinzipats* ii (1978) 46-54.

14 άρχιερέω[ς]. This is the *archiereus* of Alexandria and Egypt, through whom the state exercised its control over the temples and the priesthood; see A. Jördens, *Chiron* 44 (2014) 119-64 (with further bibliography). In that capacity, the *archiereus* received appeals from priests protesting against liturgies (cf. Thomas, *Roman epistrategos* 86-7). The priests of Soknobrais petitioned the *archiereus* Ulpius Serenianus in 171 to protect them from forced labour on dykes (P. Bacch. 20-21 = SB VI 9329, 9339).

14-17 The *archiereus* released the priest of the Korion from liturgies because the nomination was invalid. The phylarch, who nominated him wrongly, was held responsible and fined: he acted τῷ ἰδίῳ κινδύνῳ; see esp. N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt* (21997) 69. Thonius does not state why the nomination was invalid. The fact that the nominee was a priest may be relevant.

Exemptions from *munera sordida* for priests were consistently curtailed in the course of Roman rule in Egypt, and by the date of 5321, there was certainly no automatic exemption for priests, cf. Lewis, *op. cit.* 144-5. Most of the evidence comes from the second-century Fayum. In Nilopolis, a village, the exemption for priests from liturgies arose from an agreement with the villagers who were to undertake the services on their behalf: see W. Chr. 84 (177). The priests from Soknobraisis (14 n.) did not complain simply because they had to carry out the dyke corvée, but because they were forced to work away from the temple. In general, the situation of any priest would have depended on the status of his temple and his position in the hierarchy, cf. J. A. S. Evans, *YCS* 17 (1961) 263-5.

14-15 τοῦ ὄντος ἐκεῖ | Κορείου. This is the first attestation of a Korion in the Pharbaethites. LIV 3759 (325) mentions a Korion in Oxyrhynchus that was being used for a hearing before the logistes; see J. Whitehorne, *ANRW* II 18.5 (1995) 3074.

16-17 καταδικάσας τὸν τότε φύλαρχον πρός τιμον. καταδικάζω normally takes a genitive of the person and an accusative of the thing, but for the accusative of the person convicted, cf. LSJ Rev. Suppl. s.v.

The phylarch designated liturgists at Oxyrhynchus from 245/8 to 285/7 (see P. Mertens, *Les services de l'état civil* (1958) 16-30; XL 2892-2940 introd. pp. 7-8; Lewis (14-17 n.) 68 n. 19). The creation of this magistrate to replace the *amphodogrammateus* may be a local application of the reforms of Philippus Arabs (cf. P. J. Parsons, *JRS* 57 (1967) 135 n. 14, 136 n. 23); the situation in other nomes may have been different. In SB IV 7375 (Hermopolis?), the phylarch is already active in the reign of Alexander Severus; in the Great Oasis, the title lasted at least until 370 (SB I 4513).

19 τὰ δμοιώματα: 'precedents' rather than 'copies' as at O. Mich. III 101.2. Cf. P. Fay. 106 (139-42), a petition from a physician, who refers to precedents (20 δμοιώματα) on exemptions of the medical profession.

20 Cf. e.g. P. Ammon I 3 v 18 [τόδ]ε μόνον σε ὑπ[ομι]νήσκω.

22 At the start, perhaps ὡστε or ἐξ οὗ.

ἴασι: e.g. πρ[ῆ]ξις, 'sale', to fit in with κυρωθεῖς in 28.

24-5 προστετέμ[ηκε]ν | τῷ ὀνόματι ὑμῶν εἰς λόγον φ[ό]ρου. The description of the affair for which the additional penalties are due is lost, but it seems to be connected with the office (τάξις) held by Alexander. The use of τῷ ὀνόματι ὑμῶν may suggest that the additional penalties are charged to their entry on a fiscal register, but it is difficult to see how this can be related to holding an office, unless acquisition of the office increased Alexander's fiscal liabilities.

26 προσπεποίηται. The sense here is uncertain; cf. P. Heid. VII 409.1 n.

27 ὁ ἀδελφός σου. 'Brother' here is no doubt used literally: cf. E. Dickey, 'Literal and Extended Use of Kinship Terms in Documentary Papyri', *Mnem.* 57 (2004) 131-76 at 164.

28 κυρωθεῖς τὴν τάξιν. The reference may be to the purchase or lease of a priestly office. Sales are attested for Egyptian priesthoods, and especially the higher, more profitable offices of the stolistae and the prophetae; cf. P. Tebt. II 294-7. The sale of priestly offices was under the supervision of the office of the *archiereus*: cf. T. Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung* (2002) ii 733-50. If the procurator mentioned in the letter is the *archiereus*, his involvement in this matter becomes more comprehensible.

30 διαβάλλω. Cf. P. Fam. Tebt. 43.41-2 διαβάλλων με μίαν ἐκ μιᾶς.

32 ταβουλάριος: a clerk in the fiscal administration who was chiefly concerned with taxes. See

XLIX 3411 3 n. and LVI 3867 8 n.

32-3 ἐμικθώσατο οὐσίαν. Perhaps the *tabularius* has rented accommodation for a vacation of some sort, and the procurator asked him to chase up arrears at Oxyrhynchus on his way south to the Hermopolite.

33 τῷ ἄνω Ἑρμοπολείτῃ. This is a new expression, but the Lower Hermopolite existed well before. Cf. τοῦ ὑπὲρ Μέμφων Ἑρμοπολίτου in P. Brem. 68.1 of 99 and P. Ryl. II 119.3 of 62-6 (BL VIII 294). Hermopolis Parva, now Tell Baqliya, is located between Busiris and Thmuis.

35 κομῆατος: temporary leave (Lat. *commatus*). Cf. e.g. P. Giss. 41.4 of 117 (BL IV 33), where a strategus requests temporary leave from the prefect to attend to his properties in another nome.

35-6 τοῦ | ἐπιτροπού (Lat. *procurator*). This will be the *archiereus*, cf. 28 n. On the various financial and fiscal procurators active in Egypt, see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (1938) 292-4, and H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* (1960-61) 1083-92.

40 τὸν συνκαθέδρον: a legal adviser who assisted the magistrate in judicial activity (Lat. *assessor*). He was attached to the provincial governor's office. The term is rare: besides L 3570 3, it occurs in SB XVIII 13116.5 (v/v1) and in two ostraca from Oxyrhynchus, SB I 2253.13 and O. Ashm. Shelton 80.2-3 (both III/IV). See 3570 3 n.; R. Kotansky, *ZPE* 88 (1991) 47-8.

45-7 For the marginal addition, cf. M. Homann, *APF* 58 (2012) 67-80.

46 ε[]ρη[]. Apparently a form of *Ἐρηρῶς* (cf. 45), but in that case *v* is written on something else and most of the next letter is lost.

48 ἱερεῖ Θεσμοφ[ο]ρ[ε]ίου. The sanctuary is mentioned in P. Laur. IV 153.8 of 138-61 (?). There was also a Demetrium at Oxyrhynchus: see Whitehorne (14-15 n.) 3065. Thesmophoros was a common title of Demeter, but it could also be used for Kore and Dionysus. Demeter, unlike many of the Greek gods, acquired some popularity in Graeco-Roman Egypt; see D. J. Thompson in W. Clarysse et al. (edd.), *Egyptian Religion* (1998) 699-707. Two private temples of Demeter, *θεσμοφόρια Δήμητρος*, are attested in the Arsinoite from the late third century BC (P. Enteux. 19.3-4). The goddess was worshipped with recognizably Greek rites: see XXXVI 2782 (III); P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i 199ff.; Thompson, *op. cit.* Thesmophoros was also one of the innumerable epithets of Isis, who was assimilated with Demeter: Ἴσις Δηοῖ θεσμοφόρος (see V. F. Vanderlip, *The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis* (1972) 66; Ronchi, *Lexicon* III 490). Cf. her role in Egyptian myth as the restorer of Maat (J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis* (1968) 205ff.). Isis could be styled simply as Thesmophoros, e.g. ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ θεσμοφόρος καλουμένη from the Memphite aretology (cf. Bergman 206; Vanderlip 21).

J. YUAN

5322. ORDER TO SUPPLY MEAT

69/61(b)

8.7 × 7.4 cm

Early fifth century
Plate XII

A *vir clarissimus* orders an unspecified person to supply a quantity of meat to a group of persons who seem to be called *σεβαστοφόροι*, perhaps officials of some kind. No reason for the supply is given.

The text is written across the fibres. The back is blank.

Τερα[κ]ίων λαμπρ(ότατος)
 παράσχου τοῖς ξε[β]αστοφόροις
 κρέως λίτρας [τέσσαρας, γίνονται] κρέως λί(τραι) δ] `τρῖς',
 (vac.) (γίνονται) κρέως λί(τραι) γ μ(όνας).
 5 (m.2) σεσημ(είωμαι) κρέως λί(τρας) γ μ(όνας).

1 λαμπρ 3 γκρλ 1. τρεῖς 4 —κρλ,γμ 5 σεσημ)κρλ,γμ

'(From) Hieracion, *vir clarissimus*. Supply to the *sebastophoroi* pounds of meat ~~four, total 4 lb of meat~~; three, total 3 lb of meat only.' (2nd hand) 'I have signed for 3 lb of meat only.'

1 Τερα[κ]ίων λαμπρ(ότατος). It is unclear whether this person has been attested previously. A πλ(οῖον) κληρ(ονόμων) Τερακίωνος is mentioned in LXVIII 4685 v. 4, which probably dates from the second quarter of the fifth century. The deceased Hieracion would have been a person of some standing when alive, and the note ad loc. identifies him with the πολιτευόμενος of P. Heid. IV 314 ii 2, but in the absence of a title there can be no certainty.

2 ξε[β]αστοφόροις. The traces seem to rule out *παστοφόροις*. (This was my earlier reading, whose implications were explored by M. E. Gokcek in his UCL MA coursework in 2015; the conclusions of this study strengthened my decision to abandon the reading altogether.) The only other reference to a *σεβαστοφόρος* in the papyri comes from CPR X 27 (Ars.; 533), but the meaning of the term is unclear; see CPR X p. 68. It may have referred to carriers of banners with the emperor's portrait in the earlier imperial period, while in the tenth century it is the name of a court official; see R. Guiland, *REByz* 21 (1963) 199–207.

5 There is writing before the putative mu of μ(όνας) which cannot be reconciled with any letter; perhaps only a false start, as WBH suggests.

N. GONIS

5323. PROTOCOL

84/103(a)

17.2 × 13.3 cm

436–8

This is the first fifth-century protocol to be identified in the Oxyrhynchus collection. On this kind of text see J. Diethart, D. Feissel, and J. Gascoü, *Tyche* 9 (1994) 9–37. The pair of officials mentioned in 5323 recurs in six other protocols, viz. CPR IX 42 and SB XXII 15574–8 (= *Tyche* 9 (1994) 12–14, nos. 3–7 and 9).

The text runs along the fibres. The unwritten area to the left of the text is 12.5 cm wide. Three lines of shorthand are written across the fibres on the back.

χμγ

Φ(αουίου) Ἀπολλ[ωνίου ὑπερ-
λάμ[πρ(ου) κόμ(ετος),

Φ(λαουίου) Χαρμο[σύνου

5 λαμπρ[ο(τάτου) κόμ(ετος).

2 φλ

4 φ

'643. Of Flavius Apollonius, *praeclarus comes*; of Flavius Charmosynus, *clarissimus comes*.'

1 χμγ is found at the top of most other fifth-century protocols; see LXIII 4394 1 n.

2-3 Fl. Apollonius (*PLRE* II 121, Apollonius 2) is attested as *comes sacrarum largitionum* on 8 March 436, which provides the basis for assigning the indictional dates of the protocols attesting him to 436-8. Apart from the six protocols mentioned in the introduction, he is thought to occur in BGU XVII 2690 on his own, but it seems very doubtful whether his name is to be read in this text.

ὑπερλάμπρ(ου). On this epithet, which may well be a translation of (*vir*) *illustris*, see *Tyche* 9 (1994) 25-6; LXIII 4398 8 n.

4-5 Fl. Charmosynus may have been the *comes sacrarum largitionum* of the dioecesis of Egypt at that time; the protocols show that he served under two different central *comites sacrarum largitionum*. He is probably to be identified with the *praefectus Augustalis* of this name murdered in 443; see *Tyche* 9 (1994) 28-9. Besides the protocols in which he is paired with Fl. Apollonius, Charmosynus is attested in CPR IX 41, datable to 431-5 or 439-43.

4 Φ(λαουίου). The omission of λ is curious but was probably inadvertent: φ is followed by an oblique rising from left to right which may have been intended for λ but ended up being part of χ.

Χαρμο[σύνου. I have restored the orthographical form, which occurs in CPR IX 41.3 and SB XXII 15575.3 (Χαρμω- ed. pr.; see plate); the name is spelled Χαρμω- in CPR IX 42.4, SB XXII 15574.4, and 15576.3.

N. GONIS

5324. LEASE OF LAND

14 IB.209/B(b)a

9 × 8.8 cm

3 April 437?

The top right-hand corner of a lease addressed to an Oxyrhynchite *curialis* whose name is mostly lost but could be Theon. The inventory number suggests that it was found in close proximity to 5326, so that it is conceivable that the two leases are contemporary and refer to the same curial landowner; see further 1-2 n. and 3 n.

The date, 3 April, is somewhat unusual for a land lease, though not unparalleled; other spring leases from this area and period are LXVIII 4687 (26.v.441) and P. Flor. III 325 (20.v.489).

A list of Oxyrhynchite land leases of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries is given in R. Mazza, *L'archivio degli Apioni* (2001) 189-91; remove P. Erl. 75 (see BL XII 68; T. M. Hickey,

APF 49 (2003) 205), and add VIII 1126 and those published more recently: LXVIII 4677, 4682, 4687, LXXII 4915, SB XXVIII 16969 (= P. Lond. V 1876), and the leases edited in this volume (5324–6, 5331–2, 5337).

The writing runs along the fibres and the back is blank. There is a sheet-join 0.5–0.7 cm in from the right-hand edge of the front.

μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουίων] Ἰ[σιδώρ]ο[υ]
 καὶ Σενάτορος τῶν λ]αμ[π]ρ[ο]τ[ά]των, Φαρμουθι ἡ'.
 Φλαουίω c.5]ι τῶ [αἰδε]ε[ί]μω πολιτευομένω
 τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ] λαμπροτάτης Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλ(εως)
 5 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἰωάννου υἱοῦ Παύλου ἀπὸ ἐποικίου
 c.10 τοῦ] αὐτοῦ νομοῦ. ἐκουσίως ἐπι-
 δέχομαι μισθώσα]σθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους
 ριγ πβ σπορᾶς τῆς ε]ὑτυχοῦς ἕκτης [ί]νδικτίονος

4 πολ' 5 υἱου

'After the consulship of Flavii Isidorus and Senator, *virī clarissimi*, Pharmouthi 8.

'To Flavius ..., the revered *curialis* of the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelius Ioannes son of Paulus, from the hamlet ... of the same nome. I voluntarily undertake to lease from the present year 113/82, for the sowing of the auspicious sixth indiction, ...'

1–2 The reconstruction of the postconsular clause relies on the chronological references in 7–8, which are also partly restored. The traces themselves are not conclusive, and other names could be restored. Anthemius Isidorus and Senator were the consuls of 436; see *CLRE* 406–7. On the attestation of their consulship in papyri, see A. Benaissa, *ZPE* 171 (2009) 178, and *APF* 56 (2010) 277; see also 5325 1 and 5326 1. If P. CtYBR inv. 5177 (ed. Benaissa, *APF* 56 (2010) 276) dates from 20 February 437, it will be the earliest record of them from Egypt; but it may be from 438, in which case 5324 will be the earliest.

3 c.5]ι: Θεωνι? We need a short name, and Theon is the only Oxyrhynchite *curialis* attested in the 430s whose name would fit; on this person, see *APF* 55 (2009) 91–2. Admittedly the line looks short as restored, but the initial φ could have been enlarged.

6 τοῦ] αὐτοῦ νομοῦ corresponds to Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλ(εως) in 4; cf. 5325 6, 5326 5. On this phenomenon, see LXVIII 4681 7 n.

7 μισθώσα]σθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους. The formulation indicates that this is a lease of land; see LXVIII 4682 8–9 n.

7–8 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους [ριγ πβ σπορᾶς τῆς ε]ὑτυχοῦς ἕκτης [ί]νδικτίονος. The 'sowing' is a reference to the *praedelegatio*, the fiscal indiction; a sixth such indiction started on 1 May 437. This lease is dated 3 April, which must fall in the current Julian year, shortly before this *praedelegatio*. Naturally, the harvest on which the taxes were due would have been that of the year after, but LXVIII 4687 and P. Flor. III 325, both contracted in May, refer to the fiscal indiction that had commenced a few days earlier. Thus it is less likely that the text dates from 436, in era year 112/81. The same era year is restored in 5325 7; see n.

N. GONIS

5325. LEASE OF LAND

13 1B.129/E(a)

15 × 22.6 cm

3 July 437

A lease of two aruras, presumably of indefinite duration, since there is no reference to the term of the lease. The lower part of the document is missing, but no significant details will have been lost there. More important is the damage affecting the line beginnings, which has obscured the status of the land under lease. This was in some way associated with the office of *exactor*, and could not have been the property of the person whom we would expect to be the lessor, Fl. Strategius, though he is called the landowner in 14; see below, 8 n.

5325 is the second earliest document to attest Strategius I, the 'forefather' of the Apion family; only P. Köln XI 459 of 431 or 436 (an earlier date is less likely) seems to predate it. At that time, Strategius was a *curialis* of Oxyrhynchus and an administrator of the local branch of the *domus divina*. His post in the imperial service is mentioned in P. Köln 459 and most of the later documents that attest him. 5325 refers only to Strategius' curial credentials, perhaps because this lease had no relation to his function as a civil servant. See further 5327 introd.

Another point of interest comes from the reference to the 'private', or rather particular, monetary standard of Oxyrhynchus, the earliest we have so far (see 15 n.).

The writing runs along the fibres. On the back there are remains of the docket; the initial μ points to *μίθωσις*, but I cannot confidently match this word with the traces. The text is pieced together from a number of loosely contiguous fragments.

μετὰ τὴν ὑ]πατία[ν Φλ(αουίων) Ἰε]ιδώρο[υ κα]ῖ [C]ε[ν]ά-
 τορος τῶν λα]μπροτά[των, Ἐ]π[ε]φ θ.
 Φλαουίω C]τρατηγίω [τῷ α]ῖ[δεσί]μω πολιτευομένῳ τῆς
 λαμπρᾶς κα]ῖ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως
 5 παρὰ Αὐρηλί]ου Ἰσάκ υἱοῦ Πανεχώτου ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Παραιτονί[ο]υ
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομο]ῦ. ἐκουσίω[ς] ἐ[π]ιδέχομαι μισ[θ]ώσασθαι
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ριγ πβ σπορ]ᾶς τῆς ἐβδόμης
 ἰνδικτίωνος ἀπὸ c.18] τῆς ἐξακτορίας
 c.10] . εω ἐξ ἀπηλιώτου τῆς δι[ώ]ρυχος
 10 ἀρούρας δύ]ο ἢ ὅσας ἐὰν ὦσιν ε[ἰ]ς σπορᾶν ὧν ἐὰν
 αἰρῶμαι γενη]μάτων καὶ τελέσω ὑπὲρ φόρου ἀποτάκτου
 ἐπὶ τε νειλοβρ]όχῳ καὶ ἀβρόχῳ χρυσοῦ νομισμάτιον
 ἔν. ἀκίν]δ[υν]ος ὁ φόρος παντὸς κινδύνου, τῶν δημοσίων
 ὄν]των πρὸς σὲ τὸν γεοῦχον, ἐπάναγκες δ' ἐμὲ παρα-
 15 σχειν τὸν] φόρον ἰδιωτικῶ σταθμῶ ἐν τῷ δέοντι
 καιρῷ ἀνυπερ]θέτως καὶ τὴν ἀναβολὴν τῶν ναουίων
 ποιέεσθαι. κυρία ἢ μ]ίθω[σις ἀπλ]ῆ γραφε[ῖσα] κ[α]ῖ [

11 ὑπατείας

5 ἱσάκ

11 ὑπερ

15 ἰδιωτικῶ

16 ναουίων

'After the consulship of Flavii Isidorus and Senator, *virī clarissimi*, Epeiph 9.

'To Flavius Strategius, the revered *curialis* of the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelius Isac son of Panechotes, from the hamlet of Paraitoniou of the same nome. I voluntarily undertake to lease from the present year 113/82, for the sowing of the seventh indiction, from ... of the office of *exactor* ... to the east of the canal two aruras or as many as they may be, for the sowing of whatever crops I choose; and I shall pay as fixed rent, for Nile-watered as well as unwatered land, one solidus of gold. The rent (is) free of every risk, the public taxes being the responsibility of you, the landowner, and it is necessary for me to pay the rent on the private standard at the proper time without delay, and to make the raising of the irrigation earthworks. The lease is binding, written in a single copy, and ...'

1-2 For the consuls, see 5324 1-2 n.

2 'E]π[ε]ιφ is much more likely than Mε]χ[ε]ρ: the diagonals of χ would not have disappeared without many traces, and the top of ρ would not have reached as high in the line as φ.

3 Φλαουίω C]τρατηγίω. On Fl. Strategius I see above, introd. G. Azzarello, P. Köln XI 459 introd., offers the latest update on his dossier, with further insights in *Il dossier della domus divina in Egitto* (2012) *passim*; a new additional item is LXXV 5066. Despite the steady growth of evidence, important details of his career remain obscure. It is certain that he was a *curialis* of Oxyrhynchus and had a long service as an administrator of the *domus divina* (Azzarello speaks of a promotion from *διοικητής* to *φροντίζων*, which is possible, but the evidence is still slender and ambiguous); while in imperial service, he became a *comes sacri consistorii*, which elevated him to the rank of *vir spectabilis*. As has often been observed, Strategius' rise would have been due to this service, though it should also be recognized that he was a member of the local elite before he entered the service. We know nothing about his ancestors; it is unclear whether he was related to Strategius, *curialis* and (later) *vir clarissimus*, who flourished in the earlier part of the fifth century; see LXVIII 4685 introd. (para. 3) and 6 n., and LXX 4780 2 n.

Strategius' exact charge in the early years of his career is unclear. In P. Köln XI 459, this function is lost in the break; the version printed in Azzarello, *Il dossier della domus divina* 58, reads (lines 4-6):

Φλαουίω Cτρατηγίω τῷ αἰδεσίμ[ω πολιτευομένῳ τῆς]
λαμπράς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξύρυγχιτῶ[ν πόλεως διοικητῆ (?) *vel* φροντίζοντι (?) τῆς]
θειοτάτης οἰκίας κτλ.

The collocation *διοικητῆ/φροντίζοντι τῆς θειοτάτης οἰκίας* is unparalleled, and the latter alternative would be long in comparison with the previous line as restored. We would also need the qualification *τῶν πραγμάτων*, but if we restored *φροντίζοντι τῶν πραγμάτων*, an expression used for Strategius in later years, the line would become even longer but have about the same length as (the very long) line 2 (see note ad loc.; the editor's tentative explanation for the length of this line is not without difficulty). Either way, line 4 will remain too short; we may wonder whether a municipal office was mentioned after *πολιτευομένῳ*, though we do not know whether he held one.

Probably not far removed in date from P. Köln 459 and 5325 is the undated L 3584 2-3, where Strategius is called τῷ αἰδεσίμῳ πολ(ιτευομένῳ) φροντίζοντι | κώμης Ταμπεμου. The expression *φροντίζων κώμης* is unusual but probably means that he is the curator of a property of the *domus divina* in the area of the village, not that his authority is limited to that village. Cf. Azzarello, *Il dossier della domus divina* 18.

Another attestation comes from an unpublished, badly preserved petition addressed Φλ(αουίω) [C]τρατηγίω τῷ αἰδεσίμῳ πολ(ιτευομένῳ) φροντίζοντι τῶν ἐν τῷ] | Ὀξύρυγχίτη πραγμάτων τῆς ἐπιφ[ανεστάτης ἡμῶν δεσ]ποίνης]. There is no date, but the papyrus was found near 3584 and 3586, as its inventory number indicates (66 6B.27/P(7)a). The text confirms that Strategius was in charge of the totality of the Oxyrhynchite properties of Arcadia or (more likely) Eudocia while he was a *curialis*.

There are also two possible attestations from the early 440s: P. Mil. II 64.2-3 (440), where the person addressed, probably Strategius, is a *πολιτευόμενος* of Oxyrhynchus and a *διοικητής* or *φροντίζων* (the word is lost) *πραγμάτων τῆς θειοτά[τη]ς καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτης ἡμῶν δεσποίνης Ἀρκαδίας*; and L 3582 1-2 (442), where Strategius(?) is mentioned as a *διοικητής* of the *domus* of Arcadia (the association with Strategius is strengthened by the inventory number, which indicates that 3582 was found with 3585, a petition addressed to Strategius). See Azzarello, *Il dossier della domus divina* 59-61, with references.

At some stage Strategius was promoted to the second senatorial grade (*vir spectabilis*) through the conferral of the *comitiva sacri consistorii*. Though not entailing actual membership of the senate at Constantinople, it indicated very high rank, placing him on a par with provincial governors in Egypt at that time: the *praeses* of Arcadia seems to have had this rank as late as the 480s (XVI 1877), and perhaps was a mere *vir clarissimus* in 450 (CPR XXIII 32; cf. also PSI X III4.2 of 454, though the name of the province is restored). This was not uncommon in the Empire at large, with local *honorati* often outranking provincial governors; see Jones, *LRE* ii 502-3. We do not know what occasioned this promotion nor when it happened; the earliest relative date, though not beyond doubt, is 457 (LXX 4780). Strategius' *comitiva* is combined with a new charge, that of curator (*φροντίζων*) of the Oxyrhynchite estate of the empress Aelia Eudocia. Azzarello, P. Köln XI p. 221, has advanced the hypothesis that after the death of Arcadia, sister of Theodosius II, in 444, her estates would have devolved to the empress Eudocia, a more senior figure, and this would have resulted in Strategius' rise in status. Here again we are confronted with gaps in our knowledge of the running of the *domus divina* in the provinces. This institution is attested in the region of Oxyrhynchus from 408 (LXXII 4901) to c.460, with or without reference to members of the imperial house, and then again in the early sixth century; see the catalogue in Azzarello, *Il dossier della domus divina*, esp. pp. 64-73 (P. Harr. I 88, originally assigned to the fifth century, is not earlier than the late sixth century—a new edition of the papyrus is in preparation). It seems to have existed irrespective of changes in Constantinople, like any other department of the imperial administration, and such changes would have had little impact on the personnel on the ground. Strategius is first attested as an employee of the *domus divina*, then as a curator of the affairs of Arcadia, and then of Eudocia. He remained an employee of a department of the *res privata*, which only changed names.

It is also unclear whether Strategius' charge ever became wider than that of the curator of imperial estates in the district of Oxyrhynchus, but this cannot be excluded (though on the face of it, it is; see LXX 4780 2-3 n., penultimate para.). 3584 2-3, which specifies his authority as if it were over only one village, and the later SB XX 14091.3-4, which calls him a curator of Eudocia's estates *διακεμένων κατὰ | [τὴν κόμην Σεφθα]*, do not imply that his jurisdiction was limited. (In the latter passage, the reference to Septha is probable, and my suggestion in 4780 2-3 n. is wrong (cf. P. Köln XI p. 221 n. 9), but the exact wording is uncertain: the article is otiose.)

It is noteworthy that there is no mention of Strategius' curial function in the texts referring to his *comitiva*. This does not mean that he was no longer liable to curial duties, and, as we see in LXVIII 4696 4-5 (484), a *comes consistorii* could also be described as a *curialis* (*πολιτευόμενος*). Rather, it may have been thought unnecessary to use a term that besides a function indicated status, when higher status had been obtained; compare those *viri clarissimi* in LXVIII 4685, who had previously been attested as *curiales*.

Uncertainty also surrounds Strategius' status at the time of his death. On 16.x.465, the last time he is heard of as alive, he is called a *vir spectabilis* (P. Heid. IV 331.3-4), but four years later (14.xii.469), in the only posthumous mention, he is styled *τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμης* (LXIII 4390 2), which would imply that in life he would have been a *vir gloriosissimus*, i.e., he would have reached the third senatorial grade. Posthumous references to people's status or function are not always reliable (cf. e.g. LXVIII 4693 3 n.

on Eulogius; 4696 5 n. on Timagenes), and it is difficult to see what would have catapulted a provincial bureaucrat, even of relatively senior standing, to the top senatorial rank. Still, such appellations are rare in Egypt at this date, and cannot be dismissed out of hand; Strategius could have held very high office at dioecesan level shortly before his death. The first *vir gloriosissimus* to be attested in a papyrus is Fl. Alexander, a *magister militum* in 476 (XVI 1899), who had served as *comes limitis Aegypti* and *praefectus Augustalis* in 468–9 (PLRE II 59, Alexander 23).

5 ἐπουκίου Παρατονί[ο]υ. This hamlet had previously occurred only in the Apionic account XVI 2032 70, 71 (540/41). P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchite* (1981) s.v., suggested that the reference was to the port of the Marmarica and not an Oxyrhynchite locality, but this is not necessary.

6 τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομο]ῦ: cf. 5324 6 n.

7 Year 113/82 of the era of Oxyrhynchus ran from 29.viii.436 to 28.viii.437. The 'sowing' refers to the fiscal indiction (7th), which started on 1.v.438. See CSBE² 142.

8 ἀπὸ c.18] τῆς ἐξακτορίας. The description of the plot under lease in Oxyrhynchite documents of this date usually follows the scheme ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σοι ἐν πεδίοις κώμης *name* ἐδάφους *name*; the previous ownership of the land would occasionally be indicated, as in LXIII 4390 8–9 (469) or P. Flor. III 325.7–8 (489). This is not what we have here (τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σοι would have filled almost the entire gap), but instead there is a reference to the office of *exactor*, as if this (had) owned the land. The only remote parallel I can adduce is LXVIII 4687 7–8 (441) ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων | [c.25] τῆς cῆς πολιτείας ἤτοι πρώην [from a lease likewise addressed to a *curialis*. In 4687 8–9 n., I associated this expression with P. Flor. 325, where Strategius II, also in the capacity of *curialis*, appears to have received the fourth share of the estate of a deceased *curialis* through the *boule*; it would seem that *curiales* managed (and eventually came to own?) land originally associated with the *boule*. The office of *exactor* was under the control of the *curiales* insofar as they manned it, performing a liturgy. We may also mention, for whatever it may be worth, the reference to 'exactoric' lands in *Novella* XII of Tiberius II (578–82): ἀπὸ χωρίων τινῶν ἐλευθερικῶν ἢ ἐξακτωρικῶν ἢ βουλευτικῶν (M. Kaplan, *T&MBz* 8 (1981) 240, lines 96–7). (There is no way of telling whether this reference to the ἐξακτορία has any relation to the Hermopolite μερὶς τοῦ ἐδάκτορος, on which see P. van Minnen, *ZPE* 82 (1990) 95.)

9 c.10] .εω. The first or second letter after the break may be θ. The location of the land would have been stated at this point.

ἐξ ἀπηλιώτου τῆς δι[ώ]ρρυγος. This phrase has been attested in the Hermopolite P. Vind. Sijp. II.10–11, 16 (453), also as part of the description of a plot of land, but nothing else in that text is comparable to what we have here.

10 δύ]ο may look short for the space, but δεκαδύ]ο is less likely: it is somewhat long, and a rent of 1 solidus for 12 aruras would be too low, even though the evidence on rents on land in fifth-century Oxyrhynchus is scarce. In VIII 1126, assigned to the fifth century, the rent is 13 carats per arura, which is comparable to what we have here, but the lack of a date does not allow any further conclusions.

13–17 For the sequence of clauses, cf. P. Mich. XI 611.17–21 (412).

15 ἰδιωτικῶ σταθμῶ. This becomes the earliest instance of the 'home standard' of Oxyrhynchus; it recurs in P. Harr. I 86.3–4 (444) ἰδι]ωτικοῦ (Ὁξυρρυχ]ιτικοῦ ed. pr.; I have seen a photograph) σταθμοῦ, and then again in SB XVIII 13928.6 (468/9) but as υζιωτικῶ (l. ἰδι-) ζυγῶ (for the date and reading, see *Tyche* 17 (2002) 86–8). Thereafter, with the possible exception of 5335 4 below, the term σταθμός is entirely replaced by ζυγός/-όν.

17 κ[α]ί would have been followed by ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὠμολόγησα in the next line.

5326. LEASE OF LAND

14 IB.209/B(e) + (g)

12.6 x 19 cm

437/8

The top right-hand part of a lease of an unknown number of aruras with associated well. It is addressed to an Oxyrhynchite *curialis* whose name is lost, but who may be the same as the one in 5324. A point of interest is that it contains some different clauses from the closely contemporary 5325, which refers to another landowner of curial rank.

The writing runs along the fibres and the back is blank.

μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουτῶν Ἰσιδώρου καὶ Σενατόρος τῶν λαμπρο(τάτων)
] ἐν Ὀξυρύγχων.

Φλαουτῶ c.5 τῷ αἰδεσίμῳ πολιτευομένῳ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμ(προτάτης)
Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἐπιμάχου υἱοῦ Φοιβάμμω'νος'

5 ἀπὸ κώμης c.7 τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ. ἐκουσίως ἐπιδέχομαι

μισθώσασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ριδ [π]γ σπορᾶς τῆς εὐτυχοῦς

ἐβδόμης(?) ἰνδικτίωνος ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχοῦ[ν]των τῇ κῆ] θαυμασιότητι

ἐν πεδίοις τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης] ἐδάφο[ν]ς Εμε . εικ καλουμέν[ο]ν ἀρούρας

c.15 μετ]ὰ καὶ τοῦ αἰροῦ[ν]τος αὐταῖς ὑδρευμάτων ἐκτὸς

10 c.12 εἰς σπο]ρὰν ὧν ἐὰν αἰρῶμαι γενημάτων] κα[ὶ τ]ελέσω

ὑπὲρ φόρου ἀποτάκτου] ἐπὶ μὲν νελοβρόχου ἀκολουθῶς τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ

c.8 ἐπὶ δὲ ἀβρό]χῳ, ὃ μὴ εἶη, τὸ τελεῖ[ν] με τὸν φόρον ἀκολο[ύ]θῳ

c.14 σοῦ τ]οῦ πολιτευομένου. ἀκίνδυνος ὁ φόρος παν-

τὸς κινδύνου c.6]ης. δημ[ο]σί[ων ὄντων] πρὸς σὲ τὸ[ν γ]εο[ύ]χον

1 λαμπρο

3 λαμ,

4 υἱοῦ

9 ὑδρευμάτων

11 I. νελοβρόχου

12 I. ἀβρόχου?

μη: η corr. from οι?

'After the consulship of Flavii Isidorus and Senator, *virii clarissimi*, (*month day*), in (the city) of Oxyrhynchi.

'To Flavius ..., the revered curialis of the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelius Epimachus son of Phoebammon, from the village ... of the same nome. I voluntarily undertake to lease from the present year 114/83, for the sowing of the auspicious seventh(?) indiction, from the belongings of your admirableness in the plains of the same village, in the land called Eme-eik, ... aruras, along with the appropriate (?share of a) well except ... for the sowing of whatever crops I choose; and I shall pay as fixed rent, for Nile-watered (land) in accordance with the ancient ..., and for unwatered (land), which may it not happen, that I pay the rent in accordance with (the exactions-list?) of you, the curialis. The rent is free of every risk, the public taxes (on the land?) being the responsibility of you, the landowner ...'

1 For the consulship see 5324 1-2 n.

3 The addressee may be the same *curialis* as in 5324 3; Θέωνι here would be of the right length.

5 τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομο]ϛ: cf. 5324 6 n.

6-7 ἔτου]ς ϛιδ [π]χ σπορὰς τῆς εὐτυχοῦς [ἐβδόμη(?) ἰνδικτίωνος. Year 114/83 of the era of Oxyrhynchus ran from 29.viii.437 to 28.viii.438. The 'sowing' refers to the fiscal indiction; this would be the 7th, if the date is earlier than or shortly after 1.v.438. See *CSBE*² 142.

8 κώμ]η[ς] accounts for the trace and the space after it better than (τοῦ αὐτοῦ) ἐποικ]ι[ου]. This is the basis for the supplement κώμη in line 5.

ἐδάφο]υ]ς Εμε . . . εικ. Not known otherwise.

9 The number of aruras under lease is lost; to judge by the length of the gap, it included fractions.

τοῦ αἰροῦ]ν]τος αὐταῖς ὕδρευμα]τος. The participle is normally followed by μέρους in such contexts, which indicates that the land comes with 'the proportionate share' of a source of irrigation; cf. e.g. IX 1208 15 (291) τοῦ αἰροῦντος μέρους τῶν ὕδρευμάτων, or SPP XX 121.22 (439) τοῦ αἰροῦντος αὐταῖς μέρους τοῦ ἐκείσε λάκκου.

11-12 The differentiation in the payment of rent on the basis of the inundation of the Nile is standard in land leases up to the fourth century; the common formulation is ἐὰν δέ τις ἄβροχος γένηται, παραδεχθήσεται τῷ μεμισθωμένῳ. This is the latest Oxyrhynchite lease to record similar provisions, while 5324 is the first to attest the disappearance of this distinction, which however remains common elsewhere, as several sixth-century leases from Hermopolis attest (e.g. BGU XIX 2810 of 559/60).

11 ἀκολουθῶς τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ. The noun qualified by ἀρχαίᾳ, lost at the beginning of line 12, may have been μισθῶσει; cf. P. Lond. V 1771.2-3 (VI) φόρο]ν] τοῦ[του(?)] κ[α]τ' ἔτος σιτοκρίθου κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ ἀρταβ[ῶν] - - | καθὼς περ]ιέ]χει καὶ ἡ παλαιὰ μίσθωσις τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ γεωργῶν. For a similar idea, cf. LV 3803 9 (411) ἀκολουθῶς προτέρους ἀπαιτησίμοις. Cf. also PSI XII 1265.17 (426) κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν συνήθειαν, though the context is different; the same holds for I 206 = SB XXII 15367.3 (535) ἀρχαίαν προχρείαν.

12 ἀβρό]χω. We should probably read ἀβρόχου, to bring the form in line with νιλοβρόχου in 11, but the dative is also acceptable; the formula is sometimes given with genitives and sometimes with datives. It is less likely that ω here is a phonetic spelling for ου.

τελεῖ]ν] με. For the omission of final nu before a word beginning with a nasal, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 112. The articular infinitive is unexpected in view of τ]ελέσω in 10.

13 At the start of the line, we may consider supplying τῷ ἀπαιτησίμῳ; cf. XVI 1968 = SB XVI 16722.6 (VI) ἀκολουθῶς τ]ῷ γε[ο]νικῶ ὑμῶν ἀπαιτησίμῳ. But if the payment of rent at times of normal flood was said to follow old practice, the rent-roll would not be something new either; cf. 5331 11-12.

14 Presumably τῶν τῆς γ]ῆς, but the trace after the putative sigma is hard to account for: it best suits η.

N. GONIS

5327. PETITION TO FL. STRATEGIUS I

85/44(a) + 43(b)

29.5 x 30 cm

Mid-fifth century

A widow who had lent four solidi to a former eirenarch, but had not received them back, petitions Strategius I for redress. Other petitions of this date that concern unpaid debts are SPP XX 129 (497), XVI 1883, 1884 (both of 504), 1886 (v/vi), P. Lond. III 1000 = M. *Chr.* 73 (538). On women's petitions in this period, see R. S. Bagnall in J. Gascou and D. Feissel (edd.),

La pétition à Byzance (2004) 53–60.

Unlike the other petitions addressed to Strategius I (L 3584–6; it is unclear whether the fragmentary SB XX 14091 is a petition or a contract), 5327 does not mention his function as administrator of the *domus divina* in the address; as in P. Heid. IV 331 (465), which preserves only the top of a document, Strategius is described as a *comes sacri consistorii* and an Oxyrhynchite landowner. As P. Heid. 331 postdates the death of Aelia Eudocia, whose estate Strategius administered, it has been thought that he could have been out of the imperial service at that time (P. Köln XI p. 222). But would the death of an empress—in fact, an empress only by title—have had any significant impact on those who were in essence civil servants and not her private employees? Moreover, the earlier 5325 now shows Strategius addressed in a way that does not acknowledge his function as civil servant at a time when he was one. It seems likely that such documents concern Strategius as a private landlord and/or *curialis* only. LXXV 5066 and perhaps LXIII 4389 of 439 (the identity of the Strategius in this text is uncertain; see LXVIII 4685 introd.) also relate to Strategius as a landowner. Nonetheless, it is eminently possible that Strategius retired around 460, after more than twenty years in imperial service. In the later fourth century, members of the staff of the *res privata*, part of which was the *domus divina*, served for about twenty years; see C. Vogler, *Constance II et l'administration impériale* (1979) 163–9.

The fact that Strategius does not ostensibly hold public office aligns this text with the so-called private petitions, discussed by Gasco in *La pétition à Byzance* 93–103 (list on p. 94 n. 8) = *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine* (2008) 441–51. None of these petitions predates the sixth century, but now we have SB XXIV 16213, a petition to a not further defined *procurator*, plausibly assigned to the fifth century; cf. also the fragmentary P. Vindob. G 30144 (ed. B. Palme, *BASP* 45 (2008) 158–63) and perhaps CPR XXIV 8 (with Palme, loc. cit. 147–8), both of the mid-fifth century. Why was Strategius considered the appropriate addressee of a petition of this sort, and not e.g. a *defensor civitatis* (cf. 1883, 1884, 1886)? The petitions 3584–5 stem from residents of localities associated with the *domus divina*, which would account for their choice of authority to approach. The case of 3586 is unclear, but the background may be comparable to 5327; though in this text Strategius is said to be a curator of the property of an empress, there is no indication that the petitioner had any relation with the *domus divina*. Strategius received such petitions perhaps because he was a powerful local magnate of senatorial standing and with good connections to the higher authorities, if indeed there was an authority in the province higher than him: his rank would not have been lower than that of the *praeses Arcadiae* (see above, 5325 3 n., para. 6).

Another interesting detail is that Strategius is called a landowner ‘also’ in Oxyrhynchus, which implies ownership of land in a plurality of districts; this is novel, as well as unexpected, in view of the way his progeny is described in later documents; see below, 2 n.

What remains of the subscription (in a detached fragment) is in the same hand as the main text. To judge from what is left of the lower margin, it is likely that no date was recorded.

The text is written along the fibres. The edge of a sheet join runs down 6.5 cm in from the right-hand edge. There is reddish paint at the foot and on the back (otherwise blank).

Φλαουῖω Στρατηγίω τῷ μεγαλοπ[ρεπ]εστάτῳ καὶ περιβλέπτῳ κόμητι
τοῦ θεοῦ συνεδρίου γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐν τῇ λ[α]μπρῇ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ
Ὁξυρρυγγ(ιτῶν) πόλει,

(vac.) παρὰ Αὐρηγ[λί]ας Ἀσίας ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.

Ἰωσήφ ὁ γεν[ό]μενος εἰρήναρχος κώμης Πανευεὶ ἐν τῷ πέρυσι

5 ἤξιώσεν με διακονήσασθαι αὐτῷ νομίματα τέσσαρα. τῆς δὲ
τούτου χρεῖα πληρωθεῖς[η] κ[α]ί [τ]ῆς πονικ[ῆ]ς δ[ι]ακονίας
καὶ μεταβαλὼν τὰ τῆς ε[ὐ]ποιεί[ας c.4] εἰς [.] [.] [.] μον τὸ
χρέος περιορᾶν με τὴν χήραν γυν[αίκα] οὐ [.] [.] [.] ἀπογήρευτον.
τούτου χάριν πρόσειμι τῇ σῆ με[γαλοπρ]επείᾳ [παρα]κα[λ]οῦ-

10 ca c.9] αὐτὸν ἀνεχθῆ[ναι c.4]] τη [.] [.] . . .

c.15] με ἀπολαβ[c.12] καταστῆσαι

c.15] ἀ]παλλαχ[.] [.] [c.10] του ὀχλήσεως

c.15] ἤσω [τ]ὴν σῆ[ν] μεγα]λοπρέπειαν περι

] (vac.)

15 Αὐρηλία Ἄ]σ[ί]α ἐπ[ιδέ]δωκα.

1 φλαουῖω

2 οξυρρυγγ

4 ἰωσηφ

7 I. εὐποιίας

'To Flavius Strategius, *magnificentissimus et spectabilis comes sacri consistorii*, landowner also in the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelia Asia, from the same city.

'Ioseph, the former eirenarch of the village of Paneuei, last year requested that I serve him four solidi. After his charge and the toilsome service came to an end, and he changed ... of the benefaction ... the debt, he cannot (?) overlooking me, a widowed woman, an innocent one. For this reason I appeal to your magnificence pleading that he be brought up ... to be rid of ... annoyance ... your magnificence ...

'I, Aurelia Asia, have submitted (the petition).'

1-2 Strategius' epithets and the reference to his *comitiva* are given in identical fashion in L 3585 1-2, SB XX 14091.1-2 (both before 460), and P. Heid. IV 331.3-4 (465); LXX 4780 2 (457?) does not have *περιβλέπτῳ*, while in L 3586 the *comitiva* is not specified. The particular combination we have here, namely that of *comes* and landowner, recurs in P. Heid. 331; see also the next note.

2 γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐν τῇ κτλ. We find γεουχοῦντι ἐνταῦθα, without καί, in P. Heid. 331.4, the only other document that calls Strategius a landowner; similarly for his daughter Fl. Isis in LXIII 4390 3 (469). The same holds for Fl. Strategius II, first said to own land *also* in Oxyrhynchus in XVI 1984 3-4 of 523, but not in the period 489-505; see LXVII 4616 3-4 n. If we compare 5327 with P. Heid. 331, it would appear that Strategius' landholdings expanded outside the region of Oxyrhynchus shortly before his death, some time between 465 and 469. The possibility cannot be ruled out, but the time frame is narrow. We may also wonder whether the absence of καί from this landowning formula did not necessarily imply that the landholdings were limited to a single region; this may have been a detail that was not yet so important as it was in the sixth century, when the distinction became standard.

5327 offers the earliest attestation of the expression with καί in a papyrus; the second earliest is in

the Arsinoite P. Ross. Georg. III 32.3 (504) γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀρσινοειτῶν πόλεως, which refers to Varius, *comes domesticorum*, who also had links with Memphis.

3 Ἀσία. A rare name in the papyri, otherwise attested only in P. Enteux. 13.1, 13 (222 BC) and P. Flor. III 300.8 (597).

4 εἰρήναρχος. On the eirenarchs of villages, not attested before the fourth century, see P. Sängler, *Tyche* 20 (2005) 156–70. The expression χρεία πληρωθείη[ε] in 6 indicates that the office was liturgical, as it was in earlier times (on the situation in the fourth century, see Sängler, loc. cit. 161, 165).

Πανευει. On this village and its Apionic connections, see LXX 4787 9 n.; A. Benaissa, *RSON*² 251–2. It is possible that Strategius owned property in its area, which would have made him an influential figure in the village.

5 διακονήσασθαι. Cf. δ[ε]ιακονία in 6. For the sense, see Lampe, *PGL* s.vv. διακονέω I.D.1 and διακονία A.2. Cf. the contemporary Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 58.2 ἀπέστειλε πεντακόσια νομίσματα, παρακαλέσασα αὐτὸν διακονῆσαι τοῖς ἐκεῖ ἀδελφοῖς.

νομίσματα τέσσαρα. Most loans of this period concern smaller amounts of money; we find 4 solidi in P. Harr. I 86 (444), and 5 in PSI XIII 1340 (420).

6 χρεία πληρωθείη[ε]. The implication seems to be that the loan was made only for the duration of the eirenarch's term of office.

πονι[ε]ῖς. The word, read by Dr Henry, has not been attested in any other papyrus.

7 τὰ τῆς ε[ὐ]ποιεῖ[ε]α c.4]: restore e.g. δῶρα (WBH).

8 περιορᾶν rather than περιορῶν: of the putative alpha only two high traces remain, the second higher than the first. This would suit alpha rather than omega. The infinitive would be governed by οὐ [.] . [.] (e.g. δύναιται, which suits the space but cannot be confirmed).

χῆραν γυναικα. Cf. P. Herm. 17.6 χῆρα γυνή. On the significance of such references, see Bagnall in *La pétition à Byzance* 59–60.

[ἀ]πονήρευτον. The word is known exclusively from later sources; see *LBG* s.v. ἀπονήρευτος, rendered 'nicht boshaft, unschuldig', and cf. the rare ἀπονηρευσία, 'innocence' (LSJ).

9 τούτου χάριν πρόσειμι. The same phrase occurs in XXIV 2418 7, P. Rain. Cent. 85.13, and P. Ross. Georg. V 27.11 (1ν χάριν ed. pt.).

9–10 πρόσειμι τῇ εἰ με[γαλοπρ]επέ[ε]α [παρα]κα[λ]οῦσα. Cf. L 3586 10–11. The participle would have been followed by an infinitive such as κελεύσαι (cf. e.g. XVI 1884 10, 1886 14, L 3581 21, LXIII 4393 9) or προστάξαι (cf. e.g. XVI 1877 7, XXVII 2479 15, L 3586 11).

10 τῆν [ε]ῖ would suit space and trace, but the remnants of what follows do not suggest the beginning of μεγαλοπρέπειαν.

12 ἀ[πα]λλαχ[. . .] [c.10] του ὀχλήσεω. ἀ[πα]λλαχ[ῆ]να[ι] τ[ῆ]ς το[ύ]του (or α[ὐ]τοῦ) ὀχλήσεω is short for the space, and another word should be posited between τ[ῆ]ς and the pronoun. The construction in SB VI 9229.6–7 (III), περὶ τούτου ὀχλησε (l. ὠ-), may be relevant, but περὶ would still not fill the remaining space satisfactorily.

13] . ἦσω [τ]ῆν εἰ[ν] μεγαλοπρέπειαν. It would be tempting to read εὐχαριστήσω or χάριτας ὁμολογήσω [τ]ῆν κτλ. (the construction with accusative instead of dative is uncommon but not unattested). But the first trace does not allow certainty.

13–14 Perhaps περὶ[β]λεπτε κόμεις κύριε; cf. 3586 13–14 μεγαλοπρέπεται]ε κ[όμ]εις κύριε.

5328. ORDER TO SUPPLY

97/156(b)

c.18 × 5.2 cm

3 June 459

An order to supply or pay issued by Ioannes, *ναύαρχος*, possibly identical with an important Oxyrhynchite landowner attested in later years as *comes sacri consistorii*: see below, 5329–31.

The text is written across the fibres. The back is blank.

Ἰωάν[υ]νης ναύαρχ(ος) []
 παράσχου τῷ κυρ(ίω) Ψαεί[ω] καὶ τῷ παλ[. . .] []
 (ἔτους) ρλε ρδ, Παυνη θ, ιβ ἰνδικ(τίωνος).

1 ναυαρχς

2 κυρ

3 L, ἰνδικ

Ioannes, *navicularius*. Supply to lord Psa(e)ius and to the ... Year 135/104, Payni 9, indiction 12.³

1 Ἰωάν[υ]νης ναύαρχ(ος). On *navicularii* and their attestations in papyri, see LV 3803 2 n., and J. Gascou in *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin* I (1989) 304–6, reprinted with addenda in id., *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine* (2008) 340–42. To the instances collected there add P. Prag. I 41.2 (vi/vii), with BL IX 214.

Other known Oxyrhynchite *navicularii* were persons of curial status, and several of them had titles of nobility. Even if it cannot be proven, we may wonder whether the *navicularius* Ioannes was the same person as the one who appears as a *comes sacri consistorii* in later documents, before the conferral of the *comitiva*; see further 5329 3–4 n. Fl. Ioannes, who petitioned a *riparius* of Oxyrhynchus in 449 (P. Mil. II 45), could also be this same person.

3 Year 135/104 = 458/9 = indiction 12; see *CSBE*² 143. References to the indiction in dating clauses of Oxyrhynchite documents earlier than the mid-460s are very sporadic; see K. A. Worp, *APF* 33 (1987) 94, with LXVIII 4688 3 n. (para. 2).

N. GONIS

5329. LEASE OF CITY PROPERTY

20 3B.30/A(3)b

20 × 18.3 cm

2 October 466

The upper right-hand part of a lease taken on by two women from Alexandria but apparently resident at Oxyrhynchus. One of them is a cellar-keeper, which may suggest that the object of the lease was a property to be used for a trade. The lessor is described as a *comes sacri consistorii* and landowner in Oxyrhynchus. His name has not survived, but this was surely Fl. Ioannes; cf. 5330, excavated with 5329, another lease of property belonging to Fl. Ioannes. This *comes* Ioannes is probably the same as the one in 5331 and some later documents; see further 3–4 n.

The text offers the earliest Egyptian dating by the third consulship of the emperor Leo I. The writing runs along the fibres. The back is blank.

† ὑπατείας τοῦ δεσπότου] ἡμῶν Φλ(αουίου) Λέοντος τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγ[ού]στου
τὸ γ καὶ τοῦ δηλωθη-

(vac.) κομένου,] Φαωφι ε//, ε [ιν]δ[(ικτίωνος).

Φλαουίω Ἰωάννη τῷ μεγαλ[οπ]ρεπεστάτῳ καὶ περιβλέπτῳ κόμετι τοῦ θείου
κυνηδρίου γεουχοῦντι ἐ]γταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν
πό[λει

5 παρὰ Αὐρηλίας c.6] ρίας θυγατρὸς Θεοδότου ἀποστασιαρίας καὶ Λ[c.5
ἀδελφῆς ἀμφ]οτέρων ἀπὸ τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως Ἀλεξανδρείας τῆν [.] δια[
c.6 ἐν τῇ α]ὐτῇ Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν π[ό]λει. ἐκ[ο]υσίως ἐπιδεχόμεθα
μισθώσασθαι ἐξ ἀλλ]ηλεγγ[ύ]ης ἔτι ἀ[πὸ] νεομηνίας τοῦ ὄντος μηνός
Φαωφι τοῦ ἐνεστῶ]τος ἔτους ρμγ ριβ [τ]ῆς π[αρ]ούσης πέμπτῃς ἡμερικτίονος
10 ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντ]ω[ν τ]ῆς [τ]ῆς μεγ[α]λ[ο]π[ρ]ε[π]ε[ί]α ἐν τ]ῇ αὐτῇ Ὁξ[υρ]υγχι-
τῶν πόλει

c.17

] . . [. .] [. . . .] . . [. . . .] . . [

c.15

c.19

] . . [. . . .] . . [. . . .] . . [

c.15

1 φλς

9 ἡμερικτίονος

'In the consulship of our master Flavius Leo, the eternal Augustus, for the 3rd time, and of the (consul) to be announced, Phaophi 5, indiction 5.

'To Flavius Ioannes, *magnificentissimus et spectabilis comes sacri consistorii*, landowner here in the splendid and most splendid (city) of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelia —ria daughter of Theodotus, cellar-keeper, and L—, her sister, both from the capital city of Alexandria, ... in the same city of the Oxyrhynchites. We voluntarily undertake to lease on mutual security as from the first day of the present month of Phaophi of the current year 143/112 of the present fifth indiction, out of the property of your magnificence in the same city of the Oxyrhynchites ...'

1–2 On the consulship see *CLRE* 466–7; *LXVIII* 4694 1–2 n.; *CSBE*² 199.

3–4 Φλαουίω Ἰωάννη τῷ μεγαλ[οπ]ρεπεστάτῳ κτλ. The lacuna at the start of the line could in theory have held a reference to Fl. Strategius I, *comes sacri consistorii*, last heard of as alive on 16 October 465 (P. Heid. IV 331), and dead by 14 December 469 (*LXIII* 4390), but the inventory number indicates that the papyrus was found with 5330, which belongs to the same documentary genre as 5329 and attests Fl. Ioannes, a person of senatorial rank (see 5330 3 n.). A *comes consistorianus* of this name occurs in *LXVIII* 4696 and P. Ups. inv. 37 (ed. T. M. Hickey, *Comunicazioni Vitelli* 11 (2013) 87–9), both of 484, and most probably in 5331 of 474; cf. also 5334–6. It is very tempting to assume that all these papyri refer to the same person. This *comes* Ioannes is probably the father of Phoebammon and Samuel, and was dead by 489 (*LXVIII* 4697 3–4; cf. 4701 7). For a different Ioannes, *comes*, attested in the early sixth century, see 5338 1 n.

Fl. Ioannes would be the second *comes consistorianus* attested in Oxyrhynchus in the 460s, after Strategius I, a *curialis* who acquired the *comitiva* while in the service of the *domus divina* (see *LXX* 4780

2 n.). The *comes* of 4696 was also a *curialis*. If the latter is the same as the *comes* of 5329–31, we may wonder whether Ioannes' career followed similar paths to that of Strategius.

For the *comitiva sacri consistorii* see 4696 4 n. At that time its holders were no longer members of the emperor's inner consistory, but were nonetheless invested with considerable dignity.

4 Considerations of space favour *συνεδρίου* over *κονσιστωρίου*. In the papyri, *συνεδρίου* is otherwise found only in the titlature of Strategius I. It would appear that this element of the titlature represented the preferences of Oxyrhynchite notaries in the mid-fifth century.

5 *ἀποστακταρίας*. The word is also attested in the forms *ἀποστακταρίος* (P. Wash. Univ. II 99.1, SB XII 10990 ii 16.5, 17.5, 18.5, etc.), *ἀποστακταρίος* (SPP VIII 1161.1), and *ἀποστακταρῆς* (O. Ashm. Shelton 196.5). LSJ Rev. Suppl. s.v. *ἀποστακταρίος* translates 'perh. *butler*'; see further O. Ashm. Shelton 196 introd., and P. Wash. Univ. II 99.1 n. It derives from *ἀπόστακτις*, 'cellar', on which see G. Husson, *OIKIA* (1983) 41–2. *ἀποστακταρίος* is found in the tenth century in a different sense (LBG).

6–7 The unread and lost parts must have indicated that the two Alexandrian women resided at Oxyrhynchus (for Alexandrian tradespeople there, see LXXII 4918 5–7 n.), but the expression is novel and I do not see how to reconstruct it.

8–9 *ἔτι ἀ[πὸ] νεομηνιας τοῦ ὄντος μηνός* [Φαωφι. Phaophi 1 = September 28. This was an *ex post facto* lease; cf. XVI 1961 (487).

9 Year 143/112 = indiction 5 = 466/7; see CSBE² 145.

10 *τῆ ἀπὸ τῆ Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν*. The mention of the name of the city is not common in this context; only XLIV 3203 13 (400) is comparable.

N. GONIS

5330. LEASE OF A BAKERY

20 3B.30/A(3)a

11.5 × 13.5 cm

25 July–23 August 467?

The upper left-hand part of a lease of a bakery, contracted between a baker and Fl. Ioannes, most probably the same as the *comes consistorii* in 5329 of 466. The inventory numbers suggest that 5329 and 5330 were found together. For the date see below, 1 n.

Other Oxyrhynchite leases of bakeries and mills in this period are XVI 1890 (508) and P. Rein. II 108 (vi).

The writing runs along the fibres.

† μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν τοῦ δε[σπότη] ἡμῶν Φλαουίου Λέοντος(?) τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐ-
γούστου τὸ γ(?),

Μεσ[ορ]η [n

Φλαουίῳ Ἰωάννῃ [τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ καὶ περιβλέπτῳ κόμετι τοῦ θείου
συνεδρίου γεουχοῦντι

ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ λαμπρ(οτάτῃ) [Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει παρὰ Αὐρηλίου
Ἀφυγγίου Δωροθέου

- 5 ἀρτοκόπω ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς π[όλεως χαίρειν. ἐκουσίως ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι
 ἀπὸ νεομηνίας
 τοῦ Θωθ μηνὸς τοῦ εἰ[σιόντος ἔτους
 τῆς σῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας ἐκ τ[
 τῆς νοτίνης θύρας μόνης [
 ἐν ᾧ μύλαϊα δύο σὺν στοβίλλ[οις(?]
 10 ἔξαρτίας σὺν χρηστήριοις [
 τ[.....]... εἰ ὑπὲρ [
]..[

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

† μίσθ(ωσις) Ἀφυνγγίου υἱοῦ Δωροθέου

I ὑπάτιαν; I. ὑπατεῖαν 3 φλαουῖωϊωαννη 4 λαμπρ 5 I. ἀρτοκόπου
 9 I. στοβίλλ[- II ὑπερ 13 μισ^θ

'After the consulship of our master Flavius Leo(?), the eternal Augustus, for the 3rd(?) time, Mesore
 n.

'To Flavius Ioannes, *magnificentissimus et spectabilis comes sacri consistorii*, landowner here in the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelius Aphynngius son of Dorotheus, baker, from the same city, greetings. Voluntarily I undertake to lease from the first day of the month of Thoth of the coming year ... of your magnificence from ... of the southern gate only ... in which (there are) two mills with *strobilos* ... fittings with appurtenances ...'

Back:

'Lease of Aphynngius son of Dorotheus ...'

1 Considerations of space suggest that the name of the emperor was not followed by that of another consul or by the phrase *καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου*. 5329, probably found together with 5330, is dated by the third consulate of Leo I; it is conceivable that 5330 is very close in date and comes from summer 467. The postulated absence of a reference to the 'consul to be announced' is not a problem in a postconsular formula, and we have no (post)consular dates from 467. But we cannot strictly exclude the possibility that this was a postconsular formula of Leo Aug. I cos. 458, II cos. 462, V cos. 473, Leo *iunior* cos. 474, or Zeno Aug. III cos. 480.

3 Φλαουῖω Ἰωάννη [τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ καὶ περιβλέπτῳ κόμει τοῦ θείου συνεδρίου. The reference to τῆς σῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας in 7 indicates that this would have been a person of senatorial grade. 5329, found with 5330 and likewise a lease, refers to a *magnificentissimus et spectabilis comes sacri consistorii* (name lost). It is reasonable to assume that the reference in both texts is to Fl. Ioannes, a *comes consistorianus* who may recur in later texts; see further 5329 3–4 n.

Ἀφυνγγίου Δωροθέου is restored from the docket. The name Ἀφύγγιος is a version of Ἀφῦγγις, which seems peculiar to Oxyrhynchus; see *ZPE* 150 (2004) 197.

6 If the consular formula is correctly restored, the Oxyrhynchite era year would be ρμδ ργ, 144/113,

and would have been followed by τῆς ἕκτης ἰνδικτιώνος.

7 τῆς σῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας. We expect a dative, e.g., ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῆι σῆι μεγαλοπρεπεία; the genitive may be an error for the dative.

8 τῆς νοτίνης θύρας. This should be part of the description of the location of the bakery, but the purport of the reference is obscure (not the 'Southern Gate' of the city, which would have been called πύλη, as in I 43 v = W. Chr. 474 iii 17).

9 ἐν ᾧ μυλαῖα δύο. See LI 3639 10–11 n.; P. Laur. IV 164.10 n.

στοβίλλ[οις(?)]. Cf. P. Mert. I 39.9 (iv/v) μυλαῖον ἐν τῷ στοβίλλο. For the spelling of στρόβιλος with double lambda, cf. P. Mert. 39.6, 9, 10, XVI 1983 17 (535), LI 3641 8, 13 (544), XVI 1912 145, P. Rein. II 108.3 (vi). The meaning of the term is unclear; 3639 10–11 n., para. 4, tentatively suggests 'that the *strobilus* is the cone- or bell-shaped lower stone of a donkey-mill, the *meta*'.

11 One expects καὶ τελέσειν ὑπὲρ ἐνοικίου, but this cannot be read; τ]ελεσει also looks unsuitable.

N. GONIS

5331. LEASE OF LAND

25 3B.58/C(a)

20 × 16.2 cm

27 September 474

What survives is most of the upper part of the document, with damage at the beginning of the lines and elsewhere. Two ἐναπόγραφοι γεωργοὶ lease from Fl. Ioannes, *comes sacri consistorii*, the half-part of an irrigator (μηχανή) and associated land and the half-part of a vineyard, perhaps also associated with this irrigator. The rent is to be paid on the basis of the landowner's rent roll, regardless of the level of inundation. For leases of μηχαναί see LXVII 4615 introd.; cf. also SB XXVIII 16969, and below, 5332 and 5337.

The *comes* Ioannes is surely the same as the one in 5329 and 5330. The inventory number indicates that 5331 was found in the same season as those two papyri but not in close proximity.

The text offers the earliest Egyptian record for the consulship of Leo *iunior*, previously attested only in postconsular clauses.

The writing runs along the fibres and the back is blank.

† ὑπατείας τοῦ] δεξπ[ό]του ἡμῶν Νέου Λέοντος τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγο[ύ]στου τὸ α,
Θωθ λ, ἰνδικ(τίωνος) γγ.

Φλαουῖω Ἰωάν]η τῷ περιβλέπτω κόμετι τοῦ θείου συνεδρίου γεουχ[οῦν]τι
ἐνταῦθα τῆ λαμπρᾶ

Ἰοξυρυγχιτῶν πόλ]ει (vac.) Αὐρήλιοι Ανύσιος υἱὸς Παύλου μητρ[ό]ς Θεέκλας
κ[αὶ] . . . ἐνήσιος υἱὸς Γερμανοῦ

μητρὸς c.6]ς ἀμφότεροι ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Χουλχουπεγ κτή[μ]ατος τῆς ς[τῆς
μ]εγαλοπρεπείας τοῦ

5 Ἰοξυρυγγ(ίτου) νομοῦ ἐναπό]γραφοι γεωργοὶ χαίρειν. ἐκουσίως ἐπιδεχόμεθα
μικθώσασθαι ἐξ ἀλληλεγ-

γύης ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐ]γεστῶτος ἔτους ρν̄α ρκ̄ σποράς τῆς προσελ
 τ[ε]σσαρακαιδεκάτης
 ἰνδικ(τίωνος) ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῶ σῶ μεγέθει διακ[ε]μ[ε]ν[ω]ν ἐμ πεδίοις
 τοῦ ἡμετέρου
 ἐποικίου ὀλόκληρον ἡμ[ε]σιν μέρος μηχανῆς καλουμένης Νοτ[ί]νης ἐ]ξηρητισμένης
 πάσῃ
 ξυλικῆ ἐξαρτία καὶ σιδηρ]ώμασιν μετὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐπικειμένου λάκκ[ου καὶ δικα]ίων
 π[α]ν[τ]ῶν καὶ τῶν
 10 συγγεωργομένων αὐτῆ] ἀρουρῶν ὅσαι ἐὰν ὦσιν εἰς σπορὰν ὧν [ἐὰν αἰρώ]μεθ[α
 γεν]ημάτων
 καὶ τελέσομεν ἐξ ἀλλ]ηλεγγύης τὸν φόρον ἐπὶ τε νιλοβρόχῳ καὶ ἀβρ[όχῳ κα]θ'
 ἕκαστ[ο]ν ἐνιαυτὸν
 ἀκολουθῶς τῶ σῶ ἀπαι]τησίμῳ. συμμεμισθῶσθαι δὲ προσομολογοῦμ[εν καὶ] τὸ
 ἐν συστάει ἐν ἀμπέλῳ
 ἀρουρῶν ὅσαι ἐὰν ὦ]σιν κατὰ τὸ ἡμ[ε]σιν μέρος χωρίον συνθέμενοι καὶ
 το φρο[.] ος τοῦ χώματος[
 c.16] . . ε . . [.] ε . . ἐναί . [. . .] [. . .] . . . [. .] καὶ
 τὰ[c ἀ]ντλήσεις καὶ ὕδροπαρο-
 15 χίας c.12] εἰν ἀμέμπ[τωσ . . .] . . . εταττε σπο[c.12] . . [. .]
 c.16] . . ιος . . σ τοτε . . [.] [.]

I ἰνδικ 7 l. ἐν II l. νειλοβρόχῳ 12 l. συστάει

'In the consulship of our master New Leo, the eternal Augustus, for the 1st time, Thoth 30, indiction 13.

'To Flavius Ioannes, *vir spectabilis, comes sacri consistorii*, landowner here in the splendid (city) of the Oxyrhynchites, Aurelii Anysius son of Paulus, mother Thecla, and —enesius son of Germanus, mother . . ., both from the hamlet Chulchupeg, a possession of your magnificence in the Oxyrhynchite nome, registered farmers, greetings. We voluntarily undertake to lease on mutual security from the current year 151/120, for the sowing of the (coming?) fourteenth indiction, from the belongings of your Greatness, situated in the fields of our hamlet, a whole half share of an artificially irrigated farm called "Southern", fitted with all its wooden equipment and ironwork, and with the cistern that falls to it and every right and the aruras farmed with it, however many they are, for the sowing of whatever crops we choose; and we shall pay by mutual security the rent for both Nile-watered and unwatered land each year in accordance with your list of exactions. In addition we acknowledge that we have leased jointly also the half-part of the vineyard that consists of however many aruras, having agreed . . . of the embankment . . . (we shall perform?) the water-drawing and the distribution of water blamelessly . . .'

1 '474 no papyri' (CSBE² 199). The consulship of Leo *iunior* was previously recorded only in post-consular formulas from 475 and 476, some of them posthumous.

2 τῷ περιβλέπτῳ κόμητι τοῦ θείου συνεδρίου. LXVIII 4696 4 (484) too does not have the additional μεγαλοπρεπέστατος, but has κοινοκτωρίου instead of συνεδρίου; similarly P. Ups. inv. 37.2 (ed. *Comunicazioni Vitelli* II (2013) 87–9), but it breaks off after θείου.

2–3 τῇ λαμπρῇ [Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλ]ει. This is an early example of the omission of και λαμπροτάτη, which becomes the norm in the sixth century; see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 290 (several examples have accrued since then).

3 . . . ενήσιος. I cannot read any known name. The second letter may be ι.

4 ἐποικίου Χουλχουπτεγ. A. Benaissa plausibly identifies this hamlet with Κελχουπετ in LXII 4342 i 14 (IV), an *epoikion* in the 1st pagus.

5 ἐναπόγραφοι γεωργοί. This is now the second earliest reference to this category of agricultural labourers in Egypt, after XXXIV 2724 6 (469); see LXVIII 4697 6–7 n. I should restate that there is no cogent argument for restoring γεωργός | [ἐναπόγραφος in P. Mil. II 64.4–5 (440); contrast T. M. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt: The House of Apion at Oxyrhynchus* (2012) 83 n. 126.

6 Year 151/120 = indiction 13 = 474/5; see CSBE² 145.

προσελ. The traces do not seem compatible with προσελαυνούσης, as in P. Berl. Zill. 7.11 (574).

7 τῷ σῶ μεγέθει. On this abstract, earlier applied to prefects of Egypt, see H. Zilliacus, *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen und Höflichkeitstiteln im Griechischen* (1949) 40–41. It is used with reference to a μεγαλοπρεπέστατος in XVI 1982 8 (497); cf. also P. Ross. Georg. III 32.12 (Ars.; 504).

8 δόλοκληρον ἤμι]εν. Cf. PSI VI 707.8–9 (351), LXXIII 4966 8 (371). It is less likely that ἐποικίου was followed by ἐδάφους + name (cf. e.g. P. Mich. XI 611.8); there is not enough space for this.

μηχανῆς καλουμένης Νοτ[ίνης. A μηχανή of the same name occurs in XIX 2244 51–2, but the name would have been common; cf. 2244 84, or P. Select. 20.6.

10 συγγεωργουμένων is restored after P. Flor. III 325.12 (489), PSI I 77.20 (551), and P. Berl. Zill. 7.17 (574); the only alternative is ὑποστελλουσῶν, but that is somewhat short for the space.

12 ἀκολουθῶς τῷ σῶ ἀπαι]τησίμω. τῷ σῶ is not exactly paralleled, but suits the space; parallels include LV 3803 9 (411) ἀκολουθῶς προτέροις ἀπαιτησίμοις (without προτέροις in 15) and XVI 1968 = SB XXVI 16722.6 (VI) ἀκολουθῶς τῷ γε[ο]υχικῶ ὑμῶν ἀπαιτησίμω. On these 'lists of exactions' or 'rent rolls', see *Tyche* 15 (2000) 98.

συμμεμισθῶσθαι. The compound is otherwise attested only in P. Ryl. IV 600.19 (8 BC) and P. Bad. II 18.3 (61/2).

12–13 τὸ ἐν κυστάει ἐν ἀμπέλῳ . . . χωρίον. Similar phrases occur in Hermapolite land leases, e.g., BGU XVII 2682.10–11 (481) χωρίον ἀμπελικὸν ἀρουρῶν ὅσων ἐστὶν | ἐν κυστάει, where ἐν κυστάει is rendered 'consisting of' in LSJ (s.v. κύστασις B.II.1.c). The use of the definite article implies that this is not a separate plot from the μηχανή, and μηχαναί with associated vineyards are commonplace. The restored [ἀρουρῶν ὅσαι ἐὰν ὦ]ζεν is modelled on line 10; the alternative, [ἀρουρῶν ὅσων ἐς]τῶν, would be somewhat short for the space.

14–15 We find comparable expressions in receipts for replacement parts of irrigators, e.g., XVI 1899 19–20 (476) τὰς ἀντλήσεις καὶ ὑδροπαροχίας πληρῶσαι ἀμέμπτως, or 1982 20 (497) τὰς ἀντλήσεις καὶ ὑδροπαροχίας ἀμέμπτως ποιείσθαι.]ειν is the end of the infinitive that governs ἀ]ντλήσεις καὶ ὑδροπαροχίας, but it is unclear how it should be supplemented; πληρῶσ]ειν (or ἐκτελέσ]ειν: cf. e.g. P. Laur. I 7.4) would be too short for the space, unless another word was lost before that.

5332. LEASE OF LAND

96/84(a)

17.6 x 12.7 cm

8 December 480

The upper right-hand part of a lease of a half-share of an irrigated farm (*μηχανή*; cf. 5331, 5337) undertaken by three brothers, the sons of an *ἐναπόγραφος* who is said to consent to the lease. The reference to the father's consent reflects his *patria potestas*, which applied also to *coloni* in this period (*CJ* 11.48.13), but has not been attested previously in relation to Egyptian *ἐναπόγραφοι*.

The text offers the earliest instance of a *comes domesticorum* in Egypt, but his identity is elusive. It is conceivable that this was a member of the Apion family: the formula with an intermediary called an *οἰκέτης* is found in documents addressed to members of the Apion family, with LXIII 4390 (469), addressed to Fl. Isis, offering an exact parallel. See below, 2 n., and 4–6 n.

The writing runs along the fibres and the back is blank.

† μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Φλαουίου Ζήνων]ος τ[ο]ῦ αἰωνίου
 Ἀυγούστου τὸ γ, Χοιακ β, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) δ,

] ἐν Ὀξυρύγχων.

Φλαουίω *πατε* τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ κόμ[ε]τι τῶν
 καθοσιωμένων δομεστικῶν γεουχοῦντι

ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει, διὰ Ἀνθεμίου[υ] οἰκέ-
 του, τοῦ καὶ ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ προς-

5 πορίζοντος τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότη τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἐ]κ τῆς ἐπερω-
 τήσεως ἀρμόττουσαν ἀγωγὴν τε

καὶ ἐνοχήν, Αὐρήλιοι c.20] καὶ Φοιβ[άμ]μων οἱ τρεῖς ὁμογενῆσιοι
 ἀδελφοὶ ἐκ πατρὸς Ἡλίου

μητρὸς c.20 ὀρμώμενοι ἀπὸ] ἐποικίου Ἡρακλᾶ κτήματος τῆς σῆς
 μεγαλοπρεπείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ

νομοῦ, ἐναπόγραφοι γεωργοί, χαίρειν. ἐκουσίως] ἐπιδεχόμεθα μισθώσασθαι ἐξ
 ἀλληλεγγύης ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος

ἔτους ρνζ ρκς σπορᾶς τῆς εὐτυχοῦς πέμπτης ἰνδ]ικτίωνος κατὰ συνέναισιν καὶ
 συνθήκην τοῦ ἡμῶν πατρὸς

10 c.36 συ]γτίθεται ταύτη τῇ μισθώσει υἱὸς

ῶν Ἰωάννου ἐναπόγραφος ἀπὸ τοῦ

αὐτοῦ κτήματος c.10 ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντ]ων τῇ ἡμῶν μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ
 διακειμένων ἐμ πεδίοις

c.38] , υ δλόκληρον ἤμικυ μέρος
μηχανῆς καλουμένης Ἀπηλιωτικῆς
c.10 ἐξηρτικμένης πάσῃ ξυλικ]ῆ [ἐξαρτία] κα[ι] ς[ι]δη-
[ρ]ώμ[α]ς[ιν μ]ετὰ καὶ τ[οῦ] ἐ[π]ικειμένου λάκκου
]ς . . . τη . α . α . ι . [

1 ιν^δ 2 οξυρυνγ'χων 3 l. καθωσιωμένων 7, π l. μεγαλοπρεπεί- 8 αλληλεγ'γυης
9 l. συναίεσει 10 l. μισθώσει 11 l. ἐν

'After the consulship of our master Flavius Zeno, the eternal Augustus, for the 3rd time, Choiak 12, indiction 4, in (the city) of Oxyrhynchus.

'To Flavius . . . , *magnificentissimus et gloriosissimus comes devotissimorum domesticorum*, landowner here in the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Anthemius, *oiketes*, who also puts the formal question and supplies for his own master, the same most glorious man, the appropriate conduct of and responsibility for the transaction arising from the question, Aurelii . . . and . . . and Phoebammon, the three full brothers, of father Elias, mother . . . , all originating from the hamlet of Heraclas, a holding of your magnificence in the same nome, registered farmers, greetings. Voluntarily we undertake upon mutual security to lease from the current year 157/126, for the sowing of the auspicious fifth indiction, by consent and agreement of our father . . . , (who) consents to this lease, who is the son of Ioannes, a registered (farmer) of the same holding (?) . . . , from the property of your magnificence situated in the lands of . . . the whole half part of an irrigation machine called "Eastern" . . . fitted with all the wooden equipment and iron fittings, along with the cistern that falls to it . . .'

1 The emperor Zeno held his third consulship in 479, but papyri only refer to his postconsulship, and as late as September 481; see *CLRE* 478–9, and *CSBE*² 200.

3 The name of this *comes domesticorum* is lost. Apion I, an honorary *ex consulibus* by 489 (see 5337 4–5 n.), would have been the only known member of the Apion family who could have held such a title and rank in 480; Ἀπίωνι would be of an appropriate length if Φλαουίω was not abbreviated. The difficulty is that there is no certain attestation of Apion I as a landowner in Oxyrhynchus, though this is not a possibility that I wish to rule out completely. G. Azzarello, *Pap. Congr. XXV* (2010) 34ff., has argued that Apion, *defensor civitatis* in XVI 1886, which she tentatively dates to 472 (but the suggested reading of the consular clause is very difficult), as well as in an unpublished Washington papyrus, is Apion I. Of the other known Oxyrhynchite nobles of the late fifth century, the only one who could have been a *comes domesticorum* in 480 is Eudaemon (see *Tyche* 17 (2002) 85–9): he is first attested as a *comes* in 481 (XVI 1949), and was probably a *comes domesticorum* by 504, as his epithet indicates (LXII 4349 7–8 τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου κόμιτος Εὐδαίμονος), but it could well be that in 481 his *comitiva* was of lower rank. If Φλαουίω was abbreviated, Εὐδαίμονι would fit the gap. It is also possible that the reference is to someone other than Apion or Eudaemon.

κόμ[ε]τι τῶν καθωσιωμένων δομεστικῶν. To the list of holders of this *comitiva* compiled by B. Palme, *Eirene* 34 (1998) 104–8, add Phoebammon in LXVIII 4701, and Solon in P. Monts. Roca IV 96. The second earliest instance of a *comes domesticorum* in Egypt comes from SPP XX 128 (Ars.; 487).

4 It is possible that καί stood before ἐνταῦθα; though it is reasonable to assume that a person of this status owned land also outside the area of Oxyrhynchus, this does not apply to the earliest reference

to Strategius II as a *comes domesticorum* (XVI 1982 5 of 497).

Ἀνθεμίου[υ] οἰκέτου. Not attested elsewhere. The name of his counterpart in LXIII 4390 4 (469) is Areobindas. These are not ordinary names.

4-6 Cf. 4390 4-5 τοῦ καὶ ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ προσπορίζοντος τῇ ἰδίᾳ δεσποίνῃ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐπερωτήσεως ἀρμόττουσαν ἀγωγὴν τε καὶ ἐνοχίην. Later documents, starting with 5337 6 (493), have the shorter τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχίην at the end of the formula.

7 It is difficult to establish what is lost. The name of the mother cannot have been twenty letters long. LXIII 4392 7 (479) has οἰ πάντες ὀρμώμενοι at this point, but οἰ πάντες would sit oddly with οἰ τρεῖς in the previous line.

ἐποικίου Ἡρακλᾶ. This hamlet is attested in three Apionic documents of the late sixth century; see Benaissa, *RSON*² 78. This should not be taken as proof that the landowner is a member of the Apion family. XVIII 2197 attests artificial irrigation structures in its area (57 κρήνη; 60 λάκκος).

8 ἐναπόγραφοι is restored on the basis of the fact that the father is an ἐναπόγραφος (10).

9 ἔτους ρνξ ρκς σπορᾶς τῆς εὐτυχοῦς πέμπτῃς ἰνδ]ικτίουος. This 4th indiction (cf. 1) in Oxyrhynchus was coterminous with era year 157/126; the sowing referred to the fiscal indiction that began on 1 May, which would have been the 5th. See *CSBE*² 145.

κατὰ συνέναϊσιν καὶ συνθήκῃν τοῦ ἡμῶν πατρός. I take this to allude to paternal power (cf. above, introd.), on which see generally A. Arjava, *JRS* 88 (1998) 147-65. The expression is new, but for the concept cf. I 126 23 (572) συναινῶ καὶ συντίθημι.

10 συ]γρίθεται is not exactly paralleled but the restoration seems unavoidable. It was no doubt the verb of a relative clause attached to πατρός in the previous line (e.g. δε συναινεί καὶ συ]γρίθεται).

12 μηχανῆς καλουμένης Ἀπηλιωτικῆς. Cf. XVI 2037 17 (late vi) ὑπὲρ μηχαν(ανῆς) ἀπηλιωτικ(ῆς), but that could well be a different irrigator.

13 For this phrase cf. 5331 8-9. This and other parallels suggest that ἐξηρτικμένης would have come immediately after Ἀπηλιωτικῆς, but we need approximately ten more letters to fill the lacuna: an additional name of the μηχανή?

N. GONIS

5333. ORDER TO SUPPLY WHEAT AND MONEY TO CHURCHES

105/171(c)

7.5 × 8.5 cm (left fr.)

29 August-27 September 482

7.2 × 7.1 cm (right fr.)

Two non-contiguous fragments with line beginnings and ends of an order to supply, addressed to an estate steward. The format is unusual for a text of this date: the order proper is followed by a list of churches and the amounts of wheat and money. Two churches are mentioned; if the blank space under line 6 is part of the lower margin, as seems likely, there was no reference to any other church.

The order is issued by Flavia Isis, *clarissima femina*. Isis made her first appearance in LXIII 4390 (469), in which she is called the daughter of Fl. Strategius I, and 4391 (471); see also the undated P. Thomas 26 v. 5335 now extends her dated record by eleven years. All three Oxyrhynchus papyri referring to Fl. Isis relate to affairs of her estate. In *ZPE* 146 (2004) 175-8, I suggested that Isis was the wife of Fl. Apion I and mother of Fl. Strategius II; since then, I

have found no evidence that could either confirm or contradict this hypothesis.

On religious offerings (*προσφοραί*), see E. Wipszycka, *Les ressources et les activités économiques des églises en Égypte* (1972) 78–86; G. Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger im spätantiken Ägypten* (2002) 208–12; cf. 5342. Though the fifth-century evidence is meagre, this is the time when the exercise seems to have taken the shape familiar from sixth-century documents; cf. X 1322 (413), XVI 1949 (481), and 5335. For the combination of money and wheat in such offerings, cf. the Apionic accounts XVI 1911 71ff., 1912 115ff., XVIII 2195 84ff., XIX 2243A 75ff.

The writing runs across the fibres; the back is blank.

† *Ἴσις λαμπρο(τάτη)* [(*vac.?*) *M]ηνᾶ προ(νοητῆ)*
 (*vac.*)
παράσχον εἰς τὰς ἐξῆ[ς - - ἐκκλησίας - - - - -] 5 ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)
εἴτου μέτρ(ω) κα[γκέλλω
ἄρτάβας δώδεκα κ[αῖ χρυσοῦ νομισμάτιον ἐν ἡμιцу παρὰ κεράτιον ἐν ἡμιцу,
γί(νονται) εἴ(του)] (ἄρτ.) ἰβ και νο(μ.) α\ // π(αρά) α\ //.
(ἔτους) ρνθ ρκη, Θωθ [, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) 5. (m.2) (γίνονται)(?) εἴ(του) (ἄρτ.)
ἰβ] κα(γκέλλω) νο(μ.) α\ π(αρά) α\ c . [
5 (m.1) εἰς] τῆν ἐκκλ(ησίαν) καλ(ουμένην) Βί[κτωρος - - -] εἴ(του) (ἄρτ.) 5 και
νο(μ.) []
εἰς τ]ῆν ἐκκλ(ησίαν) Παρ[ὰ Ποταμὸν

1 ἰσιλαμπρ^ο, πρ^ο 2 ἰνδχ μετρ^ς 3, 5 ̄ 3, 4, 5 Ḡ 3, 4 ρ 4 L,
 κφ 5, 6 εκκλ 5 καλ' c

‘*Isis, clarissima femina (vac.?)* to Menas, *pronoetes*.

‘Supply to the churches (mentioned) below ... 6th indiction, twelve artabas of wheat by the cancellus measure and one (and) one-half solidi of gold minus one (and) one-half carats, total 12 art. of wheat and 1 sol. minus 1 (car.). Year 159/128, Thoth ..., indiction 6.’ (2nd hand) ‘Total(?) 12 art. of wheat by the cancellus (measure) and 1 sol. minus 1 (car.) with ...’

(1st hand) ‘For the church called “Of Victor” ... 6 art. of wheat and ... sol.

‘For the church “By the River” ...’

1 It is likely that nothing was written in the space between *λαμπρο(τάτη)* and *M]ηνᾶ*; otherwise, the name (and function) of an intermediary will have stood there.

προ(νοητῆ). The area of competence of the *pronoetes* is not indicated, which is unusual for an Oxyrhynchite text of this date; I have found only very few parallels to such an omission, all from the third and fourth centuries.

2 Probably *εἰς τὰς ἐξῆ[ς δηλουμένας ἐκκλησίας*. The purpose of the payments would have been stated after that, and it is probable that this was a *προσφορά*; cf. e.g. P. Bad. IV 95.71 (vi) *εἰς τῆν ἐκκλησίαν Θαλμοου ὑπ(έρ) προσφορ(ᾶς) εἴ(του) (ἄρτάβαι) 5*. The reference to the indiction recalls LVIII 3936 19–21 (598) *ὑπέρ τῆς ἀγίας προσφορ(ᾶς) ὑπέρ τῆς ἐμβολῆς δευτέρας ἐπιμεμήσεως*, or 3960 21–2 (621) *λόγω προσφορᾶ(ς) ... ἐπὶ τῆς θ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)*; cf. also LXI 4130 23–5 (600). A *προσφορά* is associated with a

year (not fiscal, but of the Oxyrhynchite era) already in the earliest instance of the exercise in the papyri, X 1322 (413).

3 The restored part of the line is 49 letters long as given above, and it is probable that abbreviations were employed.

νομικμάτιον ἐν ἡμισυ παρὰ κεράτιον ἐν ἡμισυ. The rate of deduction is minus 1 carat per solidus. Contemporary evidence for such rates is very meagre; see K. Maresch, *Nomisma und Nomismatia* (1994) 159–60.

4 Year 159/128 = indiction 6 = 482/3.

Θωθ []. What remains of the month figure is a small right-facing curve above the line. It is not clearly compatible with any letter-part in this hand, but could be the upper part of κ or, less likely, β. In view of the uncertainty, I have not taken account of this trace in the conversion of the date (29 August–27 September).

κα(γκέλλω). This kind of abbreviation, with a stroke cutting through the last vowel, is uncommon.

ς []: σταθ[μῶ]? See 5327 15 n.

5–6 Presumably nothing was written between the names of the churches and the amounts of wheat.

5 ἐκκλ(ησίαν) καλ(ουμένην) Βί[κτωρος]. The church is new. An Oxyrhynchite church of St Victor is well attested (see LXVII 4613 13 n.; A. Papaconstantinou, *Le culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantines aux Abbassides* (2001) 63), but this is not the same institution; the lack of the element ἀγίου indicates that this is a church named after a private individual, possibly the founder.

νο(μ.) []. The trace is a short oblique in the upper part of the line, perhaps preceded by an upright. If there are only two churches, this one may receive half the money, i.e., $\frac{3}{4}$ sol., just as it receives half the wheat. The fraction $\frac{3}{4}$, used for money, would have been expressed as $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{6} + \frac{1}{12}$, but what I read discourages me from positing this sequence here. Perhaps a different quantity was given.

6 ἐκκλ(ησίαν) Παρ[ὰ] Ποταμόν. On this church see LXVII 4618 12 n. (Neither Ποιμενικής nor Πτολεμίου, the only other Oxyrhynchite churches not called after a saint and whose names start with π, can be read.)

N. GONIS

5334. ORDER TO SUPPLY MEAT

105/241(c)

30.6 × 4.7 cm

28 September–27 October 484

This and the following two items, which were found close to it, belong to a group of short texts issued in the name of or related to Ioannes, *comes*, probably the same as the *comes consistorii* in 5329–31; a different person is the *comes* in 5338. The texts indicate the presence of an estate under Ioannes, which tallies with the information supplied by 5331. This dossier otherwise consists of papyri acquired on the market and housed in various English and German collections; see D. Hagedorn and B. Kramer, *APF* 50 (2004) 158–71 (= SB XXVIII 16882–7), and *APF* 56 (2010) 59–63. (It is doubtful whether X 1335 (482) belongs, since the Ioannes there is not called a *comes*; to judge from the text (unpublished but read on a photograph), X 1336 is certainly not part of the dossier.) The texts range in date from 472 to 484. The latest in the sequence, P. Harr. I 91 = SB 16887 (19.xi.484), bears the closest affinities to the papyri edited here: besides the chronological proximity to 5334, it is addressed to the cook Anuthius,

who occurs in all three texts.

The main hand also wrote SB 16885 (476), while the countersignature is in the hand that signed SB 16885 and wrote 5335 and 5336; it may be that of Paulus, *vir clarissimus*, who issued the receipt 5335. See further 5335 introd. A different hand signed all the other texts, perhaps that of Ioannes himself (cf. *APF* 50 (2004) 160).

The text is written across the fibres. The back is blank.

Ἰωάννης κόμης Ἀνουθίῳ μαγείρῳ
παράσχου εἰς ἐμὴν ὑπηρεσίαν κρέως λίτρας δύο, γί(νονται) κρ(έως) λί(τραι) β
μό(ναι). (m.2) ἐσειμειωσάνμην κρέως λείτρ(α) β πρὸς Ἀνού-
(ἔτους) ρξα ρλ, Φαωφ[ι n, η] ἰνδικ(τίωνος). θειον.ξ

1 Ἰωάννης 2 ὑπηρεσίαν γ κρ(έως) λείτρ(α) 1 ἐσειμειωσάνμην λείτρ(α) 2-3 l. Ἀνούθιον
3 L, ἰνδικ

'Ioannes, comes, to Anuthius, cook. Supply for my use two pounds of meat, total 2 pounds of meat only. Year 161/130, Phaophi n, indiction 8.' (2nd hand) 'I have countersigned 2 pounds of meat to Anuthius.'

1 Ἀνουθίῳ μαγείρῳ. Cf. SB XXVIII 16887.1, 5335 1, 5336 1.

2 εἰς ἐμὴν ὑπηρεσίαν: lit. 'for my service', but 'for my use' or 'need' would be a more natural translation. The same phrase recurs in 5335 2 and probably 5336 2; cf. also XLVIII 3387 2 (342) εἰς ἡμετέραν ὑπηρεσίαν, CPR VI 49.2 (iv) εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν μου, IX 19.1-2 (vii) λόγ(ω) τῆς ὑπηρεσίας μου, always in the context of the supply of goods. See further PSI Com. II 10.2 n.

ἐσειμειωσάνμην, l. ἐσημειωσάνμην. Cf. 5336 3; in SB XXVIII 16885.3, the ed. pr. has ἐσειμειωσάνμην but the letter after α may be read as ν. For such insertions of medial nasals, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 118.

3 Year 161/130 = indiction 8 = 484/5; see *CSBE*² 145.

N. GONIS

5335. RECEIPT FOR MEAT

105/245(e)

12.1 × 4.7 cm

c.484

The text is written by the hand that countersigned 5334 and also wrote 5336. The signers of such texts were persons of authority, and this would suit the status of the person in whose name this receipt was issued, viz. Paulus, *vir clarissimus*. If this holds, Paulus, who is not known otherwise, could have held a senior post in the administration of the estate of Ioannes; cf. the λαμπρότατος διοικητής in XVI 1899 (476), though his employer is of higher rank than a *spectabilis comes*. It is also possible that this was not Paulus but some other senior functionary of the estate.

The text is written across the fibres. The back is blank.

Παῦλος λαμπρότατοςϫ Ἄνουθείω μ[αγεῖρω·
 ἔσχον παρὰ σοῦ εἰς ἔμην ὑπηραιεῖαν κρέως λεί[τρας
 ρ

1 l. Ἄνουθείω 2 l. ὑπηραιεῖαν, λίτρας

'Paulus, *vir clarissimus*, to Anuthius, cook. I have received from you for my use ... pounds of meat ...'

1 ϫ. The same sign is written after *μαγεῖρω* in 5336 1 (and would have also been written in the same place here); we find something similar, two sinusoids with a cross-stroke, at the end of the countersignatures in SB XXVIII 16885.4 and perhaps 5334 3 and 5336 4. The function of these signs may be compared to the St Andrew crosses in summonses and other documents, which mark the end of the text and serve to prevent unauthorized additions.

3 The purport of the writing escapes me. It is certainly not the date by the Oxyrhynchus era year: there is no trace of the year sign, the letter after ρ is not μ, ν, or ξ, and a month name cannot be read.

N. GONIS

5336. ORDER(?) TO SUPPLY MEAT

105/245(d)

9.2 × 7 cm

c.484

Plate I

The loss of its left-hand side makes it impossible to ascertain whether this document is a receipt or an order to supply, though the countersignature (3) seems to suggest the latter. It is written throughout in the same hand as 5335, a receipt. The text refers to the provision of 18 pounds of meat and another commodity; cf. P. Harr. I 91 = SB XXVIII 16887 (484).

The writing runs across the fibres and the back is blank.

] Ἄνουθείω μαγεῖρω ϫ
] ὑπηραιεῖαν κρέως λείτρ(ας) ιη και
 ἐσειμ]ειωσάνμην κρέ[ω]ς λείτρ(ας) ιη και
] πρὸς Ἀνούθειον. ϫ

1 l. Ἄνουθείω

2 l. ὑπηραιεῖαν

2, 3 λεῖρ^ϫ; 1. λίτρ(ας)

3 l. ἐσημειωσάνμην

4 l. Ἀνούθειον

'... to Anuthius, cook ... (for my) use 18 pounds of meat and ... I have countersigned 18 pounds of meat and ... to Anuthius.'

2 No doubt εἰς ἔμην] ὑπηραιεῖαν, as in 5334 2 and 5335 2.

λείτρ(αε). The abbreviation here and in 3 is unusual: an oblique intersects ι as if it were an abbreviation stroke, but the scribe continues with a peculiar tau-rho monogram, also found in 5334 2.

N. GONIS

5337. LEASE OF LAND

54 1B.25(A)/C(4)a

14.5 × 14.3 cm

10 June 493

The upper right-hand part of a lease of two parcels of land: one is a part of an irrigated farm (μηχανή), and the other is a separate, more ordinary plot in the vicinity. Though leases of μηχαναί are fairly well attested, most of the lacunas in 10–12 cannot be restored from elsewhere.

This text offers the latest reference to Strategius II as a *vir clarissimus*. He was elevated to the senatorial rank of the *illustres* through the *comitiva domesticorum* by 1 October 497 (XVI 1982). Strategius is represented through the *ὑποκαταστάτης* Theodorus, already known from earlier documents (see 5 n.), and apparently another person who may have been an *οικέτης* (see 6 n.). For the possible implications of the presence of these intermediaries, see 4 n.

The writing runs along the fibres. The back is blank as far as it is preserved.

] χμγ

μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ δεσπότη] ἡμῶν Φλ(αοῦίου) Ἀναστασίου τοῦ αἰωνίου
 Αὐγούστου καὶ Φλ(αοῦίου) Ρούφου τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου),
] Παννι ις, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) α ἀρχ(ῆ) β.
 Φλαουῖω Στρατηγίω τῷ λαμπρο]άτῳ καὶ αἰδεσίμῳ πολιτενομένῳ υἱῷ τοῦ
 ὑπερφυε[ς]τάτου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων
 5 Ἀπίωνος γεουχοῦντι ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμ]πρᾷ Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν π[ό]λει δ[ι]ὰ Θεοδώρου
 ὑποκαταστάτου καὶ τορος
 οἰκέτου τοῦ καὶ ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ π]ροσπορίζοντος τῷ ἰδίῳ δ[ι]εσπότη τῇ]ν ἀγω-
 γῆν καὶ ἐνοχῆν, Αὐρήλιος
 c.25]καλοῦ[τ]ος ἀπὸ κώμης Σπανίας [τοῦ Ὁξυρ]υγ-
 χίτου νομ[ο]ῦ παραρχουμένης
 ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς λαμπρότητος χαίρειν. ἐ]κουσίως ἐπιδέχομαι μισθῷ[κα]ϛθ[α]ι ἀπὸ
 τοῦ εἰσιόντος ἔτους
 ρο ρλθ τῆς δευτέρας ἰνδικτίωνο]ς ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ [σῆ μ]εγαλοπρεπεία
 διακειμέ[ν]ων
 10 ἐν πεδίοις c.15 τῇ]ς αὐτῆς ἀπὸ ἐδάφους καλοῦ[μένον] . ικελε εἰν
 μηχανῆς

c.25] . . κ[αί] λάκκου καὶ μηχανι[κῶν ὀργά]γων κ[αί]
 φυτῶν παντοίων
 c.25] . ογραμματοῦν τῆς κῆς μεγ[αλοπρεπ]είας καὶ ἑτέρας
 ἀρούρας
 c.5 ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῆς κῆς λ]αμπρότητι ἐν τῆ αὐτῆ [c.8] . εἰς ζπορὰν
 ὧν
 ἐὰν αἰρῶμαι γενημάτων c.6] . . . [.] . . . [

2 φλς (bis) λαμς 3 ἐνδχαρ^{χς} 4 ν-ω ὑπατων 5 ὑποκαταστατου
 6 ἠδω 9 ὑπαρχοντων

'643. After the consulship of our master Flavius Anastasius, the eternal Augustus, and Flavius Rufus, *vir clarissimus*, Payni 16, indiction 1, beginning of 2.

'To Flavius Strategius, *vir clarissimus* and most revered *curialis*, son of Apion, the most extraordinary *ex-consulibus*, landowner here in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Theodorus, substitute, and —tor, *oiketes*, who also puts the formal question and supplies for his own master the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), Aurelius ... (son of) ..., (mother) —salous, from the village of Spania of the Oxyrhynchite nome, administered by your splendour, greetings. Voluntarily I undertake to lease from the coming year 170/139 of the second indiction, from the property of your magnificence situated in the lands of ... of the same ... from a ground called ... irrigator ... and cistern and the machinery of the irrigator and plants of all kinds ... your magnificence, and (*number*) other aruras from the property of your splendour in the same (village?) ... for the sowing of whatever crops I may choose ...'

2 For the consuls, see *CLRE* 518–19, 521; *CSBE*² 201. This is the latest attestation of this (post)consulship in a papyrus.

3 Παννι 15, ἐνδ(ικτίωνος) α ἀρχ(ῆ) β. This formula and its implications have been discussed in *CSBE*² 30–33 (list on pp. 110–15), and LXVIII 4681 9–11 n. 5337, with P. Bagnall 33 (11.vi.496) and 5341 (16.vi.575), add to the (previously meagre) evidence that the indiction mentioned after ἀρχῆ is the fiscal one, reckoned from the *praedelegatio* of 1 May, and not the *delegatio* of 1 July.

4 Φλαουίω Στρατηγίω τῷ λαμπρο]άτω καὶ αἰδεσίμω πολιτευομένω. The address parallels that in P. Flor. III 325 (489), after BL XII 72; λαμπρο]άτω is secured by λ]αμπρότητι in 13. On this person, called 'Strategius II' by convention, see LXX 4781 2–3 n. with references, and T. M. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt: The House of Apion at Oxyrhynchus* (2012) 12–14. An additional attestation is offered by SB XVIII 13947.6 (507), on which see *APF* 55 (2009) 92–3.

The reference to third persons seems standard in the early attestations of Strategius II. He appears without intermediaries in XVI 1982 (497) and LXVII 4615 (505), and then disappears from the record until 523, when the *oiketes*-formula resurfaces. I have wondered whether the presence of intermediaries until 493 and their absence from 497 (to 523) may indicate that Strategius obtained the *venia aetatis* by 497 and with it the right to enter into legal transactions on his own. In that case, he would have been under 25 or even under 20 years of age in 493, which would imply that he was born in the 470s. If this holds, my earlier, hesitant suggestion (LXVII 4614 2 n.) that Strategius I, his grandfather, may have been behind the passing of the Oxyrhynchite estate to his grandson should be abandoned. The hypothesis that Strategius II inherited the estate of his mother (Fl. Isis?) appears more likely, but it remains a hypothesis.

4-5 τοῦ ὑπερφρε[ε]τάτου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων [Ἀπίωνος. This appears to confirm the restored [ἀπὸ ὑπάτων] in P. Flor. 325.3 (see BL VII 132, though ὑπάτων would not have been abbreviated). On Apion I, see 4615 4-5 n.; Mazza, *L'archivio degli Apioni* 52-8; ZPE 146 (2003) 175-8; G. Azzarello, *Pap. Congr. XXV* (2010) 33-46; Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State* 10-12. In his next appearance in an Oxyrhynchite document, 1982 of 497, Apion is also called πανεύφημος, which Hickey, II n. 53, tentatively associates with his 'rise to the patriciate'.

5 γεουχοῦντι ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμ[πρῶ] Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν π[ό]λει. For the restored ἐνταῦθα, cf. 1982 5; the other possibility is ἐν, as in 4615 5. The former alternative makes the line as long as the next (as restored), while the latter brings it closer to the length of the previous line, though there the initial φ may have been enlarged.

For the omission of καὶ λαμπροτάτη, see above, 5331 2-3 n.

8[ι]ὰ Θεοδώρου ὑποκαταστάτου. This is the third document addressed to Strategius through Theodorus; the others are the lease P. Flor. 325.3 (489), which only has διὰ Θεοδώρου ὑποκαταστάτου, and the undated petition 4614 2 διὰ Θεοδώρου ὑποκαταστ(άτου) καὶ διαδόχ(ου). The term ὑποκαταστάτης is discussed in 4614 2 n., but its exact meaning remains elusive.

... τος. This must be a name rather than a second function of Theodorus (κουράτορος cannot be read): the formula in 6 has to be introduced by a name + οἰκέτου. I have considered reading [Ο]ύκτορος, but κ does not seem to have been written: rather ε?

6 This is the third earliest example of this formula, and the earliest of the shorter version, which becomes the norm in later years; see above, 5332 4-6 n. It is not found with Strategius again before 523 (XVI 1984).

7 The lacuna held the name of the lessee, followed by υἱός, his father's name, μητρός, and the beginning of his mother's name, which ends]αλου[τ]ος. This does not match any known name.

Σπανίας. The text offers the earliest dated attestation of this village, which occurs in several Apionic documents of later date, and may be identified with medieval/modern Safaniyya; see Benaissa, *RSON*² 354-6.

7-8 παγαρχουμένης [ὑπὸ τῆς εἰς λαμπρότητος. This is the earliest attestation of this collocation (and of the verb), on which see LXX 4787 9-10 n. I have restored ὑπό on the model of the other early instances of this phrase; later we find παρά in its place. λαμπρότητος is suggested by the space; μεγαλοπρεπείας (cf. 9, 12) would be rather long.

8-9 ἔτους [ρο ρλθ τῆς δευτέρας ἰνδικτίωνος]. For the restored year 170/139 (= 493/4) and this indiction 2, see *CSBE*² 146.

9 μ]εγαλοπρεπεία. Cf. 12; contrast 13 λ]αμπρότητι.

10 After ἐν πεδίοις, we expect the name of the village. τῆς αὐτῆς no doubt refers to the village of Spania, but I cannot tell what stood in between.

ἐδάφους καλου[μένου] . ιςκελε . ειν. Not known otherwise.

μηχανῆς. The genitive indicates that the lease concerned part of it, as in 5332 12 ὀλόκληρον ἡμῖν μέρος μηχανῆς, though here the word order would be different. This part would have been stated at the beginning of the next line, now lost. After that, there would have been no room for καλουμένης + name.

11 The genitives were presumably governed by μετά in the lost part of the line.

12]ογραμμάτων: ἀπὸ γραμματέων? κω]μογραμματαίων? It is hard to see how to connect this with τῇ εἰς μεγ[αλοπρεπ]εία.

13 The number of aruras under lease should have stood at the start of the line.

ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ [c.8] . κώμη is a likely supplement but will not fill the lacuna.

5338. ORDER TO SUPPLY WINE

2 IB.100/C(c)

14 x 6.8 cm

2 December 503

The left part of an order to supply wine, issued by Ioannes, *comes*, and probably addressed to Phoebammon, wine-steward. The text is part of a small dossier that also includes I 141 (19.xii.503), LXVIII 4699 (23.i.504), and PSI VIII 957 (29.i.504; see BL XI 248).

The writing runs across the fibres. The back is blank.

† Ἰωάννης κόμης [Φοιβάμμωνι οἶνοχειρ(ιστήν)·
 παράσχου Πετρωνίῳ τροφ(ίμῳ) τοῦ κυρ(ίου) Θε[οδ-
 μηνί Χοιακ εἰς ἑβδ(ικτίωνος) οἴνου διπλᾶ πεντή[κοντα(?), γί(νονται) οἴν(ου)
 δι(πλᾶ) λ(?) μό(να).
 (ἔτους) ρπ ρμθ, Χ[οι]ακ ε, εἰς ἑβδ(ικτίωνος). (m.2) γί(νονται) οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ)
 [λ(?).

2 τροφῶ, κυρῶ 3, 4 Χοιακ ε: ε corr. from εἰς ἑβδ 4 L, γμουδᾶ

Ioannes, *comes*, to Phoebammon, wine-steward. Supply to Petronius, foster-son of lord Theod—, ... in the month of Choiak 5, indiction 12, fifty(?) double-jars of wine, total 50(?) double-jars of wine only. Year 180/149, Choiak 5, indiction 12.' (2nd hand) 'Total 50(?) double-jars of wine.'

1 Ἰωάννης κόμης. On this person see LXVIII 4696 4 n. para. 4. Following the publication of SB XXVIII 16882–6, it became clear that P. Harr. I 91 = SB XXVIII 16887 is not part of the dossier of this present *comes*; cf. Hagedorn and Kramer, *APF* 50 (2004) 161. There is one complication, however: the inventory number of 5338 suggests that it was found near 4696 (inv. 2 IB.101/D(e)), though we have no way of telling whether the original tin boxes numbered 100 and 101 contained material from the same mound. If they did, we may wonder whether the *comes sacri consistorii* of 4696 is the same as the *comes* who issued the orders to supply wine, and not the father of the *comites* Phoebammon and Samuel. But it would be more economical to take all references to a *comes* Ioannes between 466 and 484 to refer to a single person, dead by 489, and hence not the same as the one attested in 503–4.

Φοιβάμμωνι οἶνοχειρ(ιστήν). Restored after I 141 I, LXVIII 4699 I, PSI VIII 957.1.

2 Πετρωνίῳ τροφ(ίμῳ) τοῦ κυρ(ίου) Θε[οδ-]. Cf. 4699 2 Θεοδώρω παιδ(ι) τοῦ κυρ(ίου) Ἀθανασί(ου) λόγ(ου) διατροφ(ῶν).

3 πεντή[κοντα] could have been followed by another number. Fifty double-jars is a very large quantity of wine, much larger than the eighteen and twenty-seven double-jars mentioned in 141 and PSI 957 respectively, and in those texts there are several beneficiaries.

4 Year 180/149 = indiction 12 = 503/4; see *CSBE*² 147.

The countersignature is in the same hand as those in the other texts of this dossier; see 4699 3–4 n., and above, introd. The only difference is that it lacks the introductory *εσσημει(ωμαι)*. There is no way of telling whether it continued *εἰς Φοιβάμμ(ωνα) οἶνοχειρ(ιστήν)*, present in 141 and PSI 957 but apparently not in 4699.

N. GONIS

5339. APPLICATION FOR ALTERATION OF TAXATION LISTS

105/59(a)a

7.5 x 10.4 cm

11 March 513

The upper right-hand corner of an application submitted by two *scholastici*, who are brothers. It concerns taxes on one hundred and twenty aruras of land, the largest acreage recorded in documents of this type. The text has affinities with P. Warr. 3, of the late fifth century or the very beginning of the sixth (before 504: BL VII 93). For a list of similar documents, see P. Petra I 3-5 introd.; P. Petra III 19 (539-40), 23 (544), 24 (544), and 25 (559) are additional examples from outside Egypt. Add now 5339-41.

The writing runs along the fibres and the back is blank.

μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλ(αουίων) Παύλου καὶ Μοσχια]νοῦ τῶν λαμπρο(τάτων),
Φαμενωθ ιε,

(vac.)

] ἰνδικ(τίωνος) 5, ἐν Ὁξυρύγχων.

τῇ ἐξακτορικῇ τάξει μερίδος καὶ οἴκου τοῦ τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμη[ε

Τιμαγένου δια c.12 καὶ Θεώνα βοθητῶν ἐξακτορίας

5 τῆς c.25]ης καὶ Θεόδωρος σχολαστικοὶ υἱοὶ

c.26 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς Ὁξυρυχιτῶν. (vac.) ἀποκουφ[ί-

κατε c.10 ἐκ τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν δημοσίων χαρτῶν τέλεσμα ἀρουρῶν

c.26 συν]ελοῦμεν ἰδιωτικοῦ τελέσματος

c.34 ἐ]κατὸν εἴκοσι ἰδιωτικῆς

10] . [] ε

1 λαμπρῶ 2 ἰνδικ/ 4 l. Θεώνος

'After the consulship of Flavii Paulus and Moschianus, *virii clarissimi*, Phamenothe 15, indiction 6, in (the city) of Oxyrhynchus.

'To the office of the *exactor* of the division and household of Timagenes, *clarissimae memoriae vir*, through ... and Theon, assistants of the *exactor's* office of (the same city?), (from) ... and Theodorus, *scholastici*, sons of ..., from the same (city) of the Oxyrhynchites. Remove ... from the public lists kept by you the charge on ... aruras ... we pay as a private charge ... one hundred and twenty (aruras) of private ...'

¹ The line looks too long as restored but there is no obvious alternative. The ending of the name of the second consul and the indiction (ind. 6 = 512/13) point to a postconsular formula of Paulus and Moschianus, the consuls of 502, on whom see *CSBE* 559, and *CSBE*² 167.

³⁻⁴ τῇ ἐξακτορικῇ τάξει μερίδος καὶ οἴκου τοῦ τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμη[ε | Τιμαγένου. Restored after P. Warr. 3.2-3, the only other text in which Timagenes is described as τῆς λαμπρᾶς and not as τῆς περιβλέπτου μνήμη[ε (on his rank, see LXVIII 4696 5 n.). It is less likely that the reference was to Theon: the *domus* of Theon is not found in similar documents earlier than 540/41 (SB XXIV 15955), and there is

no instance of his memory being called *λαμπρά*. Another similar application that refers to the *domus* of Timagenes is XVI 1887 2 (538).

These *μερίδες* and *οἰκοί* have been discussed extensively but problems remain. J. Gascoü, *T&MByz* 9 (1985) 41–4 = *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine* (2008) 163–7, is fundamental; see also Gascoü and P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 97 (1993) 120–21, on Hermopolite *μερίδες*. More recent discussions include R. Mazza, 'Households as Communities? *Oikoi* and *poleis* in Byzantine Egypt', and J. Tuck, 'The *Oikoi* and Civic Government in Egypt in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries', in O. M. van Nijf and R. Alston (edd.), *Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age* (2011) 263–86 (esp. 269–277) and 287–305 respectively. The Oxyrhynchite *μερίδες* and *οἰκοί* have their origins in the 430s (PSI Congr. XVII 29; PL/III 331, ed. *BASP* 45 (2008) 185–7), and survive as fossilized entities in the fiscal administration of the city from the 440s (L 3583) to the seventh century. We find something similar in Hermopolis, with *μερίδες* named after local notables already in the fifth century, which later function as divisions of the *δημόσιον λογιστήριον* of the city. At the root of these *μερίδες* were thought to be the properties and associated fiscal liabilities of the people whose name they bear; those who performed public services in connection with the *οἰκοί* of Theon and Timagenes in the sixth century would have taken over the properties of these two grandees with the burdens attached to them. This seems to be a reasonable hypothesis, but it does not explain everything: it is strange that in Oxyrhynchus these *μερίδες* and *οἰκοί* are only two (three with the *οἶκος* of Eudaimon, so far attested only in XVI 2016), and by now we may be confident that it is not due to the limitations of our evidence that the number is small. Theon and Timagenes were certainly great landowners, and their *μερίδες* may well have assumed the fiscal administration of smaller landholdings, as no doubt happened in Hermopolis (Gascoü and Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 97 (1993) 121), but there were several other high-ranking landowners in Oxyrhynchus at that time, who would have also been expected to fill the post of *exactor* as a *munus patrimonii*; this makes the concentration of the evidence on these two *οἰκοί* all the more remarkable. To be sure, what distinguishes Timagenes and Theon from all other landowners is their elevated status: they became *spectabiles* around 440, so that they were probably the persons of highest standing locally at their time (cf. *APF* 55 (2009) 92). For reasons that escape us, the division of the fiscal and liturgical liabilities in the city of Oxyrhynchus involved only a very few *οἰκοί*, and became permanent around the middle of the fifth century (cf. XVI 2039, with G. Azzarello, *ZPE* 155 (2006) 207–28). Even though the liturgies performed with reference to the *μερίδες* of the *οἰκοί* of Theon and Timagenes could reflect the liabilities of their old estates, it would also be reasonable to assume that these *μερίδες* were mere accounting divisions of the financial bureau of the city; cf. 5341 3–4 and n.

4 βοθηθῶν ἑξακτορίας. Two assistants are also mentioned in PSI Congr. XVII 29 (432) and L 3583 (444), and one in all other texts of this type.

5 τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως would be long for the lacuna unless the words were extensively abbreviated; perhaps τῆς αὐτῆς stood here, as in P. Warr. 3.4. What followed was the *gentilicium* (Φλάουῖοι) and most of the name of the first of the two *scholastici*.

]ης καὶ Θεόδωρος σχολαστικοί. The date of this text rules out identifying Theodorus with the *scholasticus* of this name in 5341 of 575. For other *scholastici* called Theodorus, see 5341 5 n. Pairs of *scholastici* also occur in PSI Com. 20.11 (v/vi) and SB XVIII 13949.5–6 (541) (brothers); Callinic. V. Hyp. 35.1–2 mentions four brothers who were all *scholastici*. For literature on *scholastici*, see CPR XXV 3.2 n.

6–7 ἀποκουφίσατε. The compound occurs at this point in 3583 6; cf. also 1887 11 θέλησον ἀποκουφίσαι, SB 15955.8 θελή[η]σατε ἀποκουφίσαι. After that and before ἐκ τῶν παρ' ὑμῶν δημοσίων χαρῶν, we expect something on the lines of ἐκ τοῦ ἡμῶν ὀνόματος, but there is not sufficient room in the gap.

8 ἰδιωτικῶν τελέματος. The damage obscures the function of the genitive. This phrase is other-

wise found only in P. Bub. I 1 vii 7 *ιδιωτικ[ῶ]ν τελες[μάτων]*, dating from some three centuries earlier; it no doubt reflects the type of the land that was taxed. Other such documents refer to 'public' charges: **3583** II *τελοῦντος τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παντοῖα δημόσια τελέσματα*, though the land in question is said to be private; **1887** 6 *δημόσιον τέλοςμα* (cf. 12).

9 *ἐ]κατὸν εἴκοσι* would have been preceded by *ἀρουρῶν* in the lost part of the line.

A much larger number has been thought to occur in SB 15955. The ed. pr. prints *ὑπὲρ φ[] c. 10*] *ων πραθεικῶν παρ' αὐτῶν* in line 10, and the note suggests reading *ὑπὲρ φ (= 500) [τῶν ὄλων ἀρουρῶν]*, adding that 'φ is written with a dash above it, which must be the figure indicating the amount of arouras ... bought' (*APF* 42 (1996) 85). This is impossible: the restored sequence is awkward Greek; the use of a number sign instead of the cardinal written out in full is unexpected at this point; and the 'dash' would be too close to the bowl of φ. The purported 'dash' can only be explained as part of the upper loop of φ, now mostly abraded; *ὑπὲρ φ[όρου ἀρουρῶν]* would be of the right length, but there are no close parallels to this phrase in texts of this kind.

ιδιωτικῆς. εἰδέας (l. *ιδέας*) most probably followed in the next line; cf. P. Wart. 3.11–12 *τελέσματα ἀρουρῶν δέκα καὶ | ὀκτώϊ ιδιωτικῆς εἰδέας*. Land thus described is also mentioned in SPP XX 121.10, 21 (439). **3583** 8 refers to *κυτικῆς ιδιωτικῆς γῆς ἀρούρας*, but not exactly in the same context.

N. GONIS

5340. APPLICATION FOR ALTERATION OF TAXATION LISTS

53 IB.26(F)/C(5)a + 54 IB.26(E)/D(10)a 32.7 × 30.1 cm

10 May 572

Flavius Ioannes, *scholasticus*, addresses a request to the taxation office in Oxyrhynchus to have the fiscal register altered: he has given real estate as a dowry to his daughter, Stephanous, and asks for his name to be removed from the register and that of Stephanous to be inserted in its place. So in I 126 = W. *Chr.* 180, Stephanous applies to have her name entered in the register and assume the fiscal liabilities arising from ownership of the land: 126 is an *ἐπίσταγμα τοῦ κομματισμοῦ*, and 5340 an *ἐπίσταγμα τοῦ κουφισμοῦ*. The two documents taken together may suggest that a transfer of registration from one person to another had to be requested by both parties, but this is uncertain: no other corresponding pairs of this kind are known.

The most interesting new point to emerge from 5340 is that Ioannes, Stephanous' father, was a *scholasticus* of the *forum Arcadiae*. This is only the second certain reference to this office; see below, 5–6 n.

The hand of the main text also wrote 126 1–20. The document is complete; it was rolled up and has broken in two approximately half way down. The text is written along the fibres. On the back is a description of the contents.

† βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης μεγίστου εὐεργέτου
Φλ(αουίου) Ἰ[ο]υστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀγούστου καὶ Ἀυτοκράτ[ο]ρος ἔτους
ἐβδόμου, ὑπατίας τῆς

(*vac.*) αὐτῶν γαληνότητος τὸ β #, Παχων ιε, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) πέμπτης, (ἔτους)
μη σι.

τῇ ἑξακτορικῇ τάξει μερίδος καὶ οἴκου τοῦ τῆς περιβλέπτου μνήμης Θεώνος διὰ
 σοῦ

5 *Κύρου* τοῦ αἰδесίμου ἐπιμελητοῦ ταύτης τῆς νέας Ἰουστίνου πόλεως (*vac.*)
 Φλ(άουϊος) Ἰωάννης

σχολαστικὸς φόρου ταύτης τῆς Ἀρκάδων ἐπαρχίας υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης
 Σερήνου. θελήσῃ ἢ σὴ [α]ἰδесιμότης ἐκ τῶν ἀποκειμένων πα[ρ'] αὐτῇ δημοσίω
 πτυκτῶν

κουφίσαι τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα καὶ βαρέσαι τὸ ὄνομα Στεφανοῦδος τῆς κοσμιωτάτης
 μου θυγατρὸς

μετὰ συναινέσεως Μάρκου τοῦ λογιωτάτο[υ] αὐτῆς συμβί[ο]υ καθ' ἕκαστον
 ἔνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ ἐμβολῆς

10 καὶ χρυσικῶν τῆς σὺν θεῷ εἰσιούσης ἕκτης ἐπινεμήσεως καὶ αὐτῆς καὶ εἰς τὸν
 ἐξῆς

ἅπαντα χρόνον εἰς μὲν ἐμβολὴν *σίτου κανόνος ἀρτάβας ἐξήκοντα τρεῖς* μετὰ τῶν
 τούτων

ναύλων Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ μεταφορᾶς καὶ παντοίων ἀναλωμάτων καὶ ὑπὲρ
 κανονικῶν

τὰ καὶ καταβαλλόμενα τῷ κατὰ καιρὸν ἔθνικῷ χρυσῶνῃ χρυσοῦ κεράτια εἴκοσι
 δύο δημοσίῳ

ζυγῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀρκαρικῶν καταβαλλόμενα τῷ κατὰ καιρὸν ἀρκαρικarίῳ

15 ἦτοι ἐμβολάτορι χρυσοῦ κεράτια εἴκοσι δύο ἡμικυ ὄβρυζιακὰ εἰς δημοσίῳ
 κεράτια

εἴκοσι τέσσερα. ταῦτα γὰρ ἔδοξεν αὐτοὺς συντελέσαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπιδοθέντων

τῇ αὐτῇ κοσμι(ω)τάτῃ μου θυγατρὶ Στεφανοῦδι προικιμαίων κατ' ἀγροὺς
 ἀκινήτων

πρα[γ]μά[τ]ων καθ' ἕκαστον ἔνιαυτὸν καὶ πρὸς τω εἰδέναί τὴν σὴν αἰδесιμότητα
 καὶ ἀσφάλειαν τοῦ δημοσίου λόγου πεποιήμαι τὸ παρὸν ἐπίσταλμα τοῦ

20 κουφισμοῦ μεθ' ὑπογραφῆς ἐμῆς ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). † (*m.2*) † Φλ(άουϊος) Ἰωάννης
 σχο(λαστικὸς) υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς

λαμπρ(ᾶς) μνήμης Σερήνου ὁ προγεγραμμένος τὸ παρὸν ἐποιησά-
 μην ἐπίσταλμα τοῦ κουφισμοῦ τῆς ἐτησίας συντελίας τῶν

τοῦ *σίτου κανόνος ἀρταβῶν ἐξήκοντα τριῶν* μετὰ τῶν τούτω(ν)

ναύλων Ἀλεξανδρείας κ(αι) μεταφορᾶς καὶ παντοίων ἀναλωμάτων

- 25 κ(αι) τῶν τοῦ χρυσοῦ κερατίων εἴκοσι δύο δημοσίῳ ζυγῶ ὑπὲρ κανονικῶν κ(αι) τῶν ἄλλων τοῦ χρυσοῦ κερ(ατίων) εἴκοσι δύο ἡμικυ ὄβρυζιακὰ εἰς κερ(άτια) εἴκοσι τέσσερα δημοσίῳ πρὸς σὲ Κῦρον τὸν αἰδέσιμον ἐπιμελετήν οἴκου Θεώνος κ(αι) στοιχήσας πᾶσιν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ὑπέγραψα ὡς πρόκειται.
- 30 (m.3) ✠ *di emu Paulu sumb(olaeografu) etelioth(e)*

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

(m.1?) † ἐπίς[τ]αλμ(α) κουφισμ(οῦ) γεν[όμεν(ον)] π(αρά) Ἰωάν[νο]υ ς[χο]λα-
 ςτικ(οῦ) υἱοῦ τ[ο]ῦ τῆ[ς] λ[α]μ[π]ρᾶ[ς]
 (vac.) μνήμησ Cerήνου ἀπὸ τῆς νέας Ἰουστίνου πόλε[ω]ς.

2 φλ	ὑπατίας; l. ὑπατείας	3 ιε ωλχ	†	σιζ	5 ἰουστῶ	φλῶωννης	
6 υἱος	12, 14, 16 ὑπερ	18 l. τό	20 ὑπογραφης	προγ	φλ	ςϡ	21 λαμπρ
22 l. συντελείας	23 τουτω	24, 25, 26, 28 κς	26, 27 κερ	26 οβρυζιασ; l.			
ὄβρυζιακῶν	27 δημοσιω corr. from δημοσια	27-8 l. ἐπιμελητήν	30 sumbs etelioth				
31 ἐπίς[τ]αλμκουφισμ	π/ ς[χο]λαςτικ						

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Iustinus, eternal Augustus and Emperor, year seven, in the consulship of his serenity for the 2nd time, Pachon 15, indiction fifth, year 248/217.

'To the office of collection of the taxes for the division and house of Theon, *spectabilis memoriae vir*, through you, Cyrus, the venerable *epimeletes* of this New City of Iustinus, Flavius Ioannes, *scholasticus* of the court of this province of the Arcadians, son of Serenus, *clarissimae memoriae vir*. Will your reverence please remove my name from the public books in the custody of yourself and add the name of my daughter, the most virtuous Stephanous with the consent of her husband, the most learned Marcus, from the grain-tax and gold-taxes of the D.V. coming sixth *epinemesis* annually and from then for all subsequent time for the grain-taxes of wheat sixty-three artabas of the *canon* with the shipping costs of these to Alexandria and costs of transportation and expenses of all kinds, and for the *canonica* the payments to be made to the *chrysones* of the province on the occasion twenty-two carats of gold by the public standard and for the *arcarica* the payments to be made to the *arcaricarius* or the *embolator* on the occasion twenty-two and a half carats of pure gold, making twenty-four by the public standard. It has been agreed that they will pay the annual fiscal dues for the real estate presented as a dowry to the same most virtuous daughter of mine Stephanous, and I have had the present request for remission of taxation made in order that your reverence may know and for the assurance of the public treasury with my subscription as set out.'

(2nd hand) 'I, the aforementioned Flavius Ioannes, *scholasticus*, son of Serenus, *clarissimae memoriae vir*, had the present request for remission of taxation made for the annual fiscal dues of sixty-three artabas of wheat of the *canon* with the shipping costs of these to Alexandria and costs of transportation and expenses of all kinds and for the twenty-two carats of gold by the public standard for the *canonica* and the other twenty-two and a half carats of pure gold, making twenty-four by the public standard to you Cyrus, the venerable *epimeletes* of the house of Theon, and being satisfied with all of the aforementioned, I appended my subscription as set out.'

(3rd hand) 'Completed through me, Paul, contract writer.'

Back: (1st hand?) 'Request for remission of taxation made by Ioannes, *scholasticus*, son of Serenus, *clarissimae memoriae vir*, from the New City of Iustinus.'

1-3 For the regnal and consular clause combined and the conversion of the date, see *CSBE*² 47-9, 94-5, and 210, where it is formula 4.

4 τῆ ἑξακτορικῆ τῶξει μερίδος καὶ οἴκου τοῦ τῆς περιβλέπτου μνήμης Θεώνος. On this type of address see 5339 3-4 n. The *domus* of Theon is exclusively known from fiscal documents: applications for the transfer of taxation (SB XXIV 15955 (540/41); 126 and 5340 (572)); receipts for gratuities in connection with the *embole* (XVI 1999 (570; see next note) and 2009 (vii)); a grain account for the *canon* (XVI 2016 (vi)); the provision of *riparii* (XVI 2039 (vi)). The first appearance of Theon in a fiscal context comes in PL/III 331.5 of 437 (ed. *BASP* 45 (2008) 185-7) μερίδος τοῦ αἰδεσίμου Θεώνος πολιτευομένου, which mentions the *annonna* for a military unit. On Theon see above, 5324 3 n.

5 Κύρου τοῦ αἰδεσίμου ἐπιμελητοῦ ταύτης τῆς νέας Ἰουστινίου πόλεως. Cyrus is referred to as ἐπιμελητῆς οἴκου Θεώνος in 27-8 (similarly in 126); J. Gascou, *T&MBByz* 9 (1985) 43 n. 253 = *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine* (2008) 165 n. 251, sees in this 'un agent liturgique mis par la maison de Théon au service de la municipalité d'Oxyrhynchos'. A further attestation comes from 1999 I Κύρος ὁ θαυμα(σιώτατος) ἐπιμε(λητῆς) οἴκου Θεώνος; the text was assigned to the 'sixth or seventh century' but most probably dates from 10 April 570 [NG]. In earlier documents, Cyrus is called an ἐπιμελητῆς τοῦ δημοσίου λογιστηρίου ταύτης τῆς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως; see 125 3 (560) and P. Got. 9.3-4 (564).

5-6 Φλ(αούτιος) Ἰωάννης χολαστικὸς φόρου ταύτης τῆς Ἀρκάδων ἐπαρχίας. This Ioannes could be the man named in PSI VIII 963.8-10 (579) Φλαουῖω Ἰωάννη τῷ καὶ Λαμπαδίω | τῷ κοφωτάτῳ καὶ ἔλλογμ(ωτάτῳ) χρ[λ(αστικῷ)] | φόρου ταύτης τῆς Ἀρκάδων ἐπαρχί(α)ς (the text after J. G. Keenan, *BASP* 9 (1972) 16-18). Our Ioannes does not have an alias, but this does not exclude the identification, especially as *scholastici* of the *forum Arcadiae* seem to be mentioned only in these two texts and perhaps also in SB XVIII 13949.3 (541) Φλ(αούτιος) Φιλοδῆ[μ]ω καὶ Ἰωάν[ν]η τοῖς ἐλ[λ]ογμωτάτοις χολαστικοῖς . . . κ() [τῆς Ἀρκά]δων ἐπαρχί[α]ς; P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 146, remarks that δικ(αστηρίου) can be read, and notes that φόρον = *forum* instead of *δικαστήριον* would be expected. On the *forum*, see LXIII 4394 21-2 n., and for advocates of various grades operating in courts, see LXIII 4398 7-9 n.

6-7 τοῦ τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης Σερήνου. Not known otherwise. The *scholastici* in SB 13949, cited in the previous note, are also the sons of a man *clarissimae memoriae*. Were they high-ranking persons in the local civil service? Most *officiales* in sixth-century documents are *viri clarissimi* (*ZPE* 159 (2007) 268 with n. 5).

7 δημοσίων πτυκτῶν. Cf. 126 8; LSJ s.v. πυκτή; *LBG* s.v. πτυκτή; Lampe, *PGL* s.v. πτυκτός. Though Just. *Edict.* 13.15 equates *δημοσίων πυκτῆν* with *publicam tabellam*, the reference here is surely to account books, a format that becomes common in this period; cf. Gascou, *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine* 353-5. M. Gelzer, *APF* 5 (1913) 358, equated this phrase to *polyptichis* (i. *polyptychis*) *publicis* in ChLA XX 703 iv 10 (Syracuse; 489). We find *χαρτῶν*, 'rolls', in P. Warr. 3.9 and 5339 7 (restored at 1887 6 and SB 15955.6); also in P. Petra III 19.12 (539/40).

8 κουφίσαι τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα καὶ βαρέσαι τὸ ὄνομα Στεφανοῦδος. The formal request to have taxes remitted, as here, is usually followed by the request to transfer liability for them to another person, which is expressed either by *βαρεῖν* as here and at 126 7-8 or by *σωματίζειν* as at 3583 6 or 1887 11-13.

κοσμιωτάτης. The epithet occurs relatively seldom, and this is its first occurrence in an Oxyrhynchite text. It is applied exclusively to women. Its abstract nominal cognate *κοσμιότης* is similarly used, although it is occasionally applied to men; see CPR XXV 6.12 n. In 126 24 Stephanous' epithet is *εὐγενεστάτη*.

12 ναύλων Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ μεταφορᾶς καὶ παντοίων ἀναλωμάτων. Cf. 5341 9–10 (but with ἄλλων in place of παντοίων ἀναλωμάτων). ναῦλα were transport surtaxes on the grain paid for the *embolie*, and μεταφορὰ the costs of freightage of the grain to Alexandria. See generally A. C. Johnson and L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (1949) 158–60; further references in CPR XXIV p. 134 n. 2, and P. Jena II 8.7 n.

ὑπὲρ κανονικῶν. See 5341 8–9 n.

13 τῷ κατὰ καιρὸν ἔθνικῷ χρυσάνῃ. On the χρυσάνης, see LV 3797 2 n.

14–15 ὑπὲρ ἀρκαρικῶν . . . τῷ κατὰ καιρὸν ἀρκαρικαρίῳ. This, along with its counterpart in 126 15, is the only occurrence of the word ἀρκαρικάριος, an official in charge of the collection of ἀρκαρικά, charges destined for the coffers (*arca*) of the *praefectus praetorio*; on these terms, see *Lex. Lat. Lehnw.* I 98–9.

15 ἦτοι ἐμβολάτορι. For this official, see Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State* 110–11; cf. also P. Mayerson, *BASP* 46 (2009) 139–43, though caution is needed (e.g. the function of ἦτοι is misunderstood; the ἀρκαρικάριος is also the ἐμβολάτωρ, not a different functionary).

15–16 κεράτια εἴκοσι δύο ἤμισυ ὄβρυζιακὰ εἰς δημοσίῳ κεράτια εἴκοσι τέσσερα. On this passage, already known from 126 15–16, see K. Maresch, *Nomisma und Nomismatia* (1994) 122 n. 15.

18 πρὸς τῷ (l. τό) εἰδέναί. 126 18 also has τῷ (τό ed. pr.). This is probably not the ordinary ο > ω interchange (Gignac, *Grammar* i 277), but rather indicates confusion about the use of the cases; cf. P. Rain. Cent. 125.17 (Memph.; 575?), which attests the same phrase in the same spelling. [NG]

19–20 ἐπίσταλμα τοῦ κουφισμοῦ. Cf. 31; 5341 14. 126 19–20 has ἐπίσταλμα τοῦ σωματ[ι]σμοῦ.

30 di emu Paulu sumb(olaeografu) etelioth(e). 126 31 is subscribed by the same notary, whose signature is depicted at J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* (1986) Taf. 46 (Oxy. 16.4.1).

A. SYRKOU

5341. APPLICATION FOR ALTERATION OF TAXATION LISTS

54 IB.26(E)/A(7)a

50.1 x 14.8 cm

16 June 575

Sisters Flaviae Megalo and Anastasia, *clarissimae feminae*, daughters of Ptolemaeus *gloriosae memoriae*, apply to the taxation office and the assistants of the treasury bureau of the Oxyrhynchus to have their names removed from the register of fiscal liabilities for grain and money taxes, freight charges, and other items arising from ownership of two plots of land that they have sold to the *scholasticus* Theodorus.

5341 provides the name of a new village, Θαμμον, with which two new artificially irrigated plots (μηχαναί) are associated.

The papyrus is virtually intact at the top and the sides; it is broken at the foot, but not much will have been lost. The text, written in a large and practised official cursive, runs along the fibres. The back carries a description of the contents.

† βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπ[ό]του μεγίστου εὐεργέτου
Φλαουίου Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀυγούστου καὶ Ἀυτοκράτορος) ἔτους ῑ,
ὑπατίας τῆς αὐτῶν γαληνότ(ητος) τὸ β̄ //,

(vac.) Παυνι κᾱ, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἦ, (ἔτους) τ̄να εκ, ἀρχ(ῆ) θ̄ //.

Φλάουϊαι Μεγαλῶ καὶ Ἀναστασία αἱ λαμπρόταται θυγατέρες τοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξου
μνήμης Πτολεμαίου τῆ ἑξακτορικῆ τάξει τη τε βοηθοῖς

λογιστηρίου ταύτης τῆς νέας Ἰουστίνου πόλεως. ἐπιστέλλομεν τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα.

ἔσεσθε εἰδότες ὡς Τιμουε καὶ

5 Δόρκωνος τὰς ἑνεγκούσας ἡμῖν μηχανὰς ἐν Θαμμου τῆ κόμῃ κειμένας
διαπεπράκαμεν δι' ἐγγράφου ὠνῆς τῶ

σοφωτάτῳ [c]χολαστικῶ Θεοδώρῳ καὶ ἐπληρώθημεν τὴν τούτων τιμῆν. ἐπεὶ
οὖν συνεφωνήσαμεν πρὸς αὐτὸν

ὥστε αὐτὸν συντελεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν μηχανῶν καὶ παντὸς αὐτῶν τοῦ δικαίου
λόγῳ μὲν ἐμβολῆς κίτου κανόνος

ἀρτάβας δεκαοκτῶ εἰς ῥυπαροῦ καγκέλλῳ σὺν προσθήκῃ ἀρτάβας εἴκοσι πέντε
χοίνικας τέσσαρας, ὑπὲρ δὲ κανονικῶν

δημοσίων κεράτια εἴκοσι δημοσίῳ εἰς Ἀλεξανδρείας κεράτια εἴκοσι ἡμῖσι καὶ
ὑπὲρ ναύλου Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ μεταφορᾶς

10 καὶ ἄλλων κεράτια ἑπτὰ ἡμῖσι τέταρτον, θελήσατε δεχόμενοι τὸ παρὸν
ἐπίσταλμα κουφίσαι μὲν τὸ ἡμῶν ὄνομα

ἐπὶ τῆ εἰρημένῃ ἐμβ[ολ]ῆ, ἥτις συντελεῖ εἰς κίτου κανόνος ἀρτάβας δεκαοκτῶ
καὶ εἰς ῥυπαροῦ καγκέλλῳ σὺν προσθήκῃ

ἀρτάβας ε[ἴ]κοσι πέντε χοίν[ικ]α[ς] τέσσα[ρα] [c], ὑ[π]ἔ[ρ] δ[ὲ] κανονικῶν δημοσίων
κεράτια εἴκοσι δημοσίῳ εἰς Ἀλεξανδρείας

κεράτια εἴκοσι ἡμῖσι c.65] [. . .] ε[ἰ]ς τ[ὴν] προ[c]ηγορίαν

Back, downwards along the fibres:

† ἐπίσταλμα τοῦ κουφισμοῦ [

15 [.]λα

1 φλαουίουῖουστινου αυτοκρατορ ὑπατίας; 1. ὑπατείας γαληνοτ 2 ἰνδχ †
αρχς 3 φλαουῖαι 1. τοῖς 4 ἰουστινου τιμοῦε 4 ὑποτεταγμενα 5 1. Δόρκωνος
7, 9, 12 ὑπερ 8 δεκαοκτω εικοσιπέντε 9 εἴκοσι 10 ἑπτα 11 δεκαοκτω

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Iustinus, the eternal Augustus and Emperor, year 10, in the consulship of his serenity for the 2nd time, Payni 21,

indiction 8, year 251/220, beginning of (indiction) 9.

Flaviae Megalo and Anastasia, the *clarissimae* daughters of Ptolemaeus, *gloriosae memoriae vir*, to the office of *exactor* and the assistants of the treasury office of this New City of Iustinus. We address the following to you. You will know that we have sold Timoue and Dorconos, the artificially irrigated plots formerly belonging to us which lie in the village of Thammou, through a written deed of sale to the most wise *scholasticus* Theodorus and that we were paid the price for them. Therefore, since we have agreed with him that he will pay for the same artificially irrigated plots and the full possession of them for *embole* eighteen artabas of wheat of the *canon*, making with the additional payment twenty-five cancellus artabas four choenices of unclean (wheat), and for the public *canonica* twenty carats by the public standard, making twenty and a half carats by the Alexandrian standard, and for freight charges to Alexandria and for transport and the other items, seven and three-quarters carats, on receipt of this present application, please remove our names for the said *embole*, which will pay eighteen artabas of wheat of the *canon* and with the additional payment twenty-five cancellus artabas four choenices of unclean (wheat), and for the public *canonica* twenty carats by the public standard, making twenty and a half carats by the Alexandrian standard ... to the name ...'

1-3 For the regnal and consular clause combined and the conversion of the date, see CSBE² 47-9, 94-5, and 210, where it is formula 4.

2 Παυλι π̄α, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἡ, (ἔτους) τ̄να εκ, ἀρχ(ῆ) θ̄ η. See above, 5337 3 n.

3 Φλάουϊαι Μεγαλὼ καὶ Ἀναστασία αἱ λαμπρόταται θυγατέρες τοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμης Πτολεμαίου. The daughters of Ptolemaeus, who will have been a *vir gloriosissimus* in life, are *feminae clarissimae* by descent from him. This Ptolemaeus may be the man whose heirs make payments in two other documents of the period: the first is XVI 2020 17 (567-88), an account of *arcarica*, in which they pay 1653²/₃ artabas ὑπὲρ διαφόρ(ων) ὀνομ(άτων), which suggests that they have significant fiscal liabilities to meet; the second is 2040 9 (566/7), where they pay 2 solidi 19¹/₄ carats in contributions for fuel(?) for a public bath.

The name Μεγαλὼ appears to be new.

3-4 τῆ ἑξακτορικῆ τάξει τη (l. τοῖς) τε βοηθοῖς λογιστηρίου ταύτης τῆς νέας Ἰουστίνου πόλεως. Other Oxyrhynchite applications of this period are addressed τῆ ἑξακτορικῆ τάξει μερίδος καὶ οἴκου of Timagenes or Theon, as e.g. in 5340. The absence of a reference to a μερίς or οἶκος suggests that, by this date, the long defunct *domi* of Theon and Timagenes functioned like the *δημόσιον λογιστήριον* of Oxyrhynchus for this purpose. See also 5339 3-4 n. para 2.

4 ἐπιστέλλομεν τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα. The closest parallels to this phrase are in similar documents from Petra: P. Petra I 3.3, 4.4 (both 538), III 19.2 (539/40), 25.4 (559); cf. also P. Ness. III 51.1-2 (VII), a letter.

ἔσεθε εἰδότες. For the periphrastic construction, cf. e.g. P. Lond. IV 1332.12 (708) ἔση γὰρ ἐπιστάμενος. See in general Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, *Grammatik der neutestamentischen Griechisch* (151979) 285ff.; A. A. Giannaris, *Οἱ περιφράσεις εἰμί/εἶμαι + μετοχή' στην Ελληνική: διαχρονική προσέγγιση* (Diss. Athens 2011) 401-3; K. Bentin, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek: Have- and Be-Constructions* (2016).

4-5 Τιμουε καὶ Δόρκονος. These two μηχαναί are new, but one called Τιμουε appears in XVIII 2195 137, 139.

5 Θαμμον τῆ κώμη: new.

5-6 τῷ σοφωτάτῳ [c]χολαστικῷ Θεοδώρῳ. This is certainly not the Theodorus named in 5339 5 (513). A *scholasticus* called Theodorus addresses a business letter to a *dioecetes* in XVI 1869 21 (VI/VII), and two *scholastici* called Theodorus together with another called Ioannes address a letter to a *comitotribunus* in I 128 15-16 (VI/VII). (The Theodorus of the letter PSI XIV 1428 is neither a *scholasticus* nor the

addressee, but the sender: in the address on the back, the papyrus has not Θεοδώρω but Θεόδωρος, as the online image shows. [NGI]

8 ῥυπαροῦ. On this term in fiscal contexts, see P. Sorb. II 69.93.B1–8 n.

ἐν προσθήκῃ. This surcharge seems to appear elsewhere in fiscal documents from late antique Oxyrhynchus only in XLVIII 3424 II (IV), a schedule of taxes where the surcharge is levied on meat and chaff, and XVI 1913 55 (c.555?). A. C. Johnson and L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (1949) 241–2, deal cursorily with a fiscal προσθήκη in Hermopolis, which they reckon to be just over 25%. The extra charges implied by the term ῥυπαρός and the further surcharge levied here amount to an increase of almost 40% in the fiscal burden arising from ownership of the land.

8–9 ὑπὲρ δὲ κανονικῶν δημοσίων. The *canon* is the general term for the total annual fiscal dues on the land; see L. Wenger, *Canon in den römischen Rechtsquellen und in den Papyri* (SAWW 220/2; 1942) 24–47, and C. Zuckerman, *Du village à l'Empire* (2004) 179–80. The addition of δημοσίων is otherwise attested only in XVI 1919 6, II (VII).

9 κεράτια εἴκοσι δημοσίῳ εἰς Ἀλεξανδρείας κεράτια εἴκοσι ἡμίσι. In the near-contemporary LV 3805 (566 or later), the public standard trailed the Alexandrian by 1/6 carat per solidus, but the fractions are rounded and not smaller than 1/4; see 3805 7–8 n., and Maresch, *Nomisma und Nomismatia* 39–40. The 1/2 car. here may be a product of rounding rather than an indication of a different conversion rate.

9–10 καὶ ὑπὲρ ναύλου Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ μεταφορᾶς καὶ ἄλλων. See 5340 12 n.

10 θελήσατε δεχόμενοι τὸ παρὸν ἐπίσταλμα κουφίσαι μὲν τὸ ἡμῶν ὄνομα. See 5340 8 n.

13 The text in the lacuna probably continued as in 9–10, but the space seems tight. After that, there would have stood the counterpart to κουφίσαι, viz. βαρέσαι or σωματίσαι.

ἐ[ἰς τ]ὴν προ[ε]γγορίαν. προσγορία is often used in the sense 'name' in this period (Preisigke, *WB* s.v. 4; Lampe, *PGL* s.v. E), and here it is equivalent to (a fiscal) ὄνομα. Cf. P. Warr. 3.13 σωματίσιον εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν προσγορίαν; 1887 13 εἰς τὰς προ[ε]γγορίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ μου συμβίου.

14 ἐπίσταλμα τοῦ κουφισμοῦ. Cf. 5340 22.

A. SYRKOU

5342. REQUEST TO SUPPLY WHEAT TO A MONASTERY

68 6B.25/F(3)a

28.8 × 9.6 cm

Sixth century

A request addressed to Menas, *promoetes* of Netneou, an Apionic possession, to supply besides the 300 artabas of wheat already supplied an additional 200 artabas to the well-known monastery of Μέγα Ὅρος. The request was issued by the 'clerks', no doubt on the instructions of someone superior in the structure of the estate management. The reason for the distribution is not specified, but it will probably have been a pious gift, as the expression 'according to the custom' suggests; cf. 5335. The combined amount of wheat is large, the largest known from the papyrus published to date for a donation of this kind.

The papyrus is virtually complete. The text is written *transversa charta* in a large fluent cursive. For despatch the sheet was folded in two along the vertical axis and then rolled up from the foot and pressed flat; the edge was tucked inside and the address was written along the two exposed panels. A further series of folds, running perpendicular to the text, suggests that the package was again rolled up and squashed after it had been addressed. The first line of the

address is split into two by a space left blank to receive the binding, over which saltire patterns were inked on either side.

† θελήσῃ σου ἡ θαυμα(σιότης) παρασχεῖν εἰς τὸ Μέγα Ὅρος μετὰ τὰς ἄλλας
 τριακοσίας ἀρτάβας σίτου ἄλλ(ας) ἀρτάβας διακοσίας κατὰ τὸ ἔθος
 καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβδόμης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος), γί(νονται) [c]ίτου (ἀρτάβαι) σ̄ μό(ναι).
 Ἐπειφ ιβ, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) σ. †

On the back, running in the same direction, along the fibres:

† ἐπίδ(ος) τῷ θαυμα(σιωτάτῳ) (design) (Μ)ηνᾶ προνο(σητῆ) Νετνηου
 5 (design) π(αρά) τῶν γραμμ(ατέων).

1 θαυ^α 2 ἀλλ' 3 ωδχ γη - μα' ωδχ 4 ἐπίδ^α θαυ^α πρ^{ος}
 5 π' γραμμ^ς

'Please, your admirableness, supply to the Great Desert after the other three hundred artabas of wheat another two hundred artabas according to the custom and for this seventh indiction, total 200 artabas of wheat only. Epeiph 12, indiction 6.'

Back: 'Give to the most admirable Menas, *pronoetes* of Netneou, from the clerks.'

1 τὸ Μέγα Ὅρος. Another donation to the same monastery, recorded in LXVII 4620 18-19, is only 30 artabas. Attestations of the monastery are listed in 4620 18 n.

3 Ἐπειφ ιβ, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) σ. To judge from the hand, the date should correspond to 6 July 528, 543, 558, 573, 588; cf. CSBE² 147-53.

4 (Μ)ηνᾶ. The mu was presumably omitted because the first part of the address ended with a μ (α was suprascript). The stroke to the left of the η is what remains of the saltire pattern inked over the binding.

Νετνηου. See Benaissa, RSON² 213-14.

A. SYRKOU

VII. DRAWING

5343. DANIEL AND THE LIONS

35 4B.67/B(1-3)b

8 × 8.6 cm

Fifth or sixth century
Plate IX

In this sketch executed in black and red ink, a standing male figure seen in frontal view is identified as Daniel by the inscription running between two wavering horizontal lines above his head. He wears a tunic decorated with a pair of dark spots on the shoulders and the skirt, and his arms, added in a diluted red, are outstretched in the gesture of prayer, the fingers splayed out. He is flanked by a pair of lions with erect curly tails, facing him and licking his feet with extended red tongues. The sketch runs across the fibres, and there are some darker red-brown deposits on the surface. On the other side of the papyrus, both along and across the fibres, are remains of writing in a cursive that N. Gonis assigns to the fifth or sixth century.

The story of the faithful prophet Daniel and his miraculous preservation when cast by King Darius, prompted by his invidious courtiers, into a den of lions (Daniel 6:11–25), was one of the most popular Old Testament subjects in early Christian art (M. Minasi in F. Bisconti (ed.), *Temi di iconografia paleocristiana* (2000) 162–4). It features in the painted decoration of several catacombs in Rome as well as funerary locations elsewhere, and also in a range of other media including relief sculpture in stone and wood, gold glass, carved ivory, and a rare example in tapestry-woven textile. The last, like some of the works in wood and ivory, is of Egyptian manufacture.¹

A symmetrical composition with a standing figure of Daniel in orant pose, flanked by the lions, is common to these representations, though the details vary: Daniel may be nude or variously clothed in a tunic (in this sketch, the garment might be intended to resemble a contemporary woven tunic decorated with *orbiculi*), a tunic plus a mantle or cloak, and sometimes a cap too, the latter usually part of an 'oriental' outfit reflecting the Persian sphere in which his story is set.² The lions may be peacefully disengaged, seated with their backs to him, yawning and stretching, or turning to look at him with gaping jaws. Alternatively, as here, they face him

¹ S. Schrenk, in *Ägypten, Schätze aus dem Wüstensand: Kunst und Kultur der Christen am Nil*, exhib. cat., Gustav Lübcke-Museum Hamm (1996) 366–8; see also a carved wooden console, probably from Baouit, A. Effenberger, *ibid.*, 134 no. 92. The latter is also illustrated in C. Fluck et al. (edd.), *Egypt, Faith after the Pharaohs*, exhib. cat., British Museum (2015) 24 no. 15.

² The Persian outfit is more commonly seen in images derived from the parallel story related in one of the additional 'apocryphal' chapters of the Book of Daniel (14.31–42), where Daniel, thrown into a den of lions for six days by the Babylonians under King Cyrus, is brought food by the prophet Habakkuk and an accompanying angel. See, for instance, an Egyptian limestone relief (Effenberger (n. 1), 104–5 no. 49) and another such in Istanbul (T. F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (rev. ed., 1999) 77–8 fig. 55).

and lick his feet or legs, positively fawning on him — as evoked by Prudentius in his description of Daniel's salvation through prayer (*Cath.* 4.47–51), which suggests that this visual image was already well established by the later fourth century.

In Egypt, Daniel and the fawning lions also appear in the painted domes of two of the tomb-chapels in the Christian cemetery of Bagawat (Kharga Oasis): amongst the Old Testament scenes in the Chapel of the Exodus, where they are placed next to the other miraculous survivors in the Book of Daniel, the three young Hebrews in the burning furnace (M. Zibawi, *Bagawat: Peintures paléochrétiennes d'Égypte* (2005) 90–92, col. pl. 30 on p. 56, pl. XXIV, 4); and in the more accomplished frieze of named figures in the Chapel of Peace, where Daniel, a large white nimbus surrounding his head, is flanked by Justice and the eponymous Peace (ibid. 100 col. pl. 34, 114, pl. XXVII, 4). On the grounds of content and style, a variety of dates from the 4th to the 6th century have been suggested for these paintings, with the more sophisticated imagery in the Chapel of Peace seen to post-date the rather rudimentary figures in the Exodus chapel (Zibawi, op. cit., 94, 130; M.-H. Rutschowskaya and D. Bénazeth, in *L'art copte en Égypte: 2000 ans de christianisme*, exhib. cat., Institut du monde arabe, Paris (2000) 148, suggesting a 4th–5th century span).

5343 has the sketch on one side, documentary writing on the other. Several of the Oxyrhynchus papyri carrying drawings have clearly been in prior use for the writing of documents, the sketching being secondary, on the verso, as it were; the relationship between the two sides of this fragment is not so clear, but probably conforms to this sequence. Although fragmentary drawings on papyrus have often been assumed to come from illustrated texts, such pieces are in fact uncommon amongst the material from the Oxyrhynchus rubbish dumps, and readily identifiable by their format — typically, small-scale pictures with regular lines of legible writing in close proximity. This sketch, however, appears to be a solitary drawing executed on a reused piece of papyrus, possibly as a rough indication for an image of Daniel to be executed in another medium, utilizing iconographic details familiar in Egypt. Even for such a task as weaving a complex design, it seems that a basic sketch could serve as well as a fully finished coloured picture (cf. the contrasting designs for a typical kind of woven ornament, LXXI 4838–9: H. Whitehouse in A. K. Bowman et al. (edd.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts* (2007) 302–3, pls. XXVI, XXVII). This rudimentary image, however, drawn in thick lines with little clear detail, would provide only a basic idea of the content, and the protagonist's identity; its purpose remains enigmatic.

Above the drawing:

Δαναηλ

1. Δαναηλ

H. WHITEHOUSE

INDEXES

Figures in raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. Greek words not recorded in LSJ, its Revised Supplement, the *Diccionario Griego-Español*, or (for Byzantine texts) the *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität* are asterisked. The article and (in the documentary sections) *καί* are not indexed.

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<p>ἄλλος → 15 ἀνθιστάναι [→ 4 (?)] ἄνθρωπος ↓ 18 ἀπό [↓ 2, → 3] ἀποκρίνεω [→ 9-10] ἀποχωρεῖν ↓ 1-2 ἄπτειν → 13 αὐτός ↓ [2], 3, 17, → 5, 7 ἀφιστάναι ↓ 3-4</p> <p>γάρ ↓ 8</p> <p>δέ ↓ 1, [II], 16 (?) διά ↓ 4, 5, 9, → 8 δύναμις → 5 δύνασθαι ↓ [6], 8</p> <p>ἐγγίξειν ↓ 6 ἐγώ ↓ [4], 8 (?), II (?), 16 (?), → 1, 2, 9 (?), 13 εἶς ↓ 17 ἐξουσία [→ 13-14 (?)] ἐπικαλεῖν ↓ 13, → 16</p>	<p>ἐρχεσθαι → 14</p> <p>ζῆν [→ 3-4 (?)]</p> <p>θέλειν → 18 θεός (→ 4, 17)</p> <p>Ἰάννης → 2, 11 ἱερός ↓ 4, 9 ἴνα → 17 ἰστάναι ↓ 2</p> <p>καθαρίζειν ↓ 15 καί ↓ 2, II (?), → 4, 18</p> <p>λέγειν [↓ 3], II, [17-18 (?)], → 7</p> <p>μακράν [↓ 3] μή → 13 μήτηρ ↓ 4, [→ 12 (?)]</p> <p>ὄραν ↓ 10, 16 ὅταν ↓ 9</p>	<p>οὐ ↓ 5 οὖν → 8 (?) οὕτως → 9 (?)</p> <p>πλανᾶν → 1, 3 πολύς ↓ 7 πρός ↓ 6 πῦρ ↓ 5</p> <p>κκληρός [→ II (?)] κκληρώς [→ 9 (?)] κύ ↓ 6, 7 (?)</p> <p>τέκνον ↓ 12 τίς → 8 τοιούτος → 6</p> <p>ὑπό → 15 ὑμῖςτος [↓ 14-15 (?), → 16-17 (?)]</p> <p>φαίνειν [→ 11-12 (?)]</p> <p>ὤς → 18</p>
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VI. RULERS

MARCUS AURELIUS

Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος 5318 10-12 (year 14)
 ὁ Αὐτοκράτωρ Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος [5318 25-8] (oath formula)

SEVERUS ALEXANDER

(no titulature) 5320 4 (year 7)

JUSTIN II

ὁ θεϊότατος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν δεσπότης μέγιστος εὐεργέτης Φλαυῖος Ἰουστῖνος ὁ αἰώνιος Αὐγούστος καὶ
 Αὐτοκράτωρ 5340 1-2 (year 7), 5341 1 (year 10)

VII. CONSULS

437 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαυῖαν Ἰσιδώρου καὶ Σενάτορος τῶν λαμπροτάτων 5324 1-2 (?), 5325 1-2
 437/8 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαυῖαν Ἰσιδώρου καὶ Σενάτορος τῶν λαμπροτάτων 5326 1
 466 ὑπατείας τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Φλαυῖου Λέοντος τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου τὸ γ καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου 5329 1-2
 467 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Φλαυῖου Λέοντος τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου τὸ γ 5330 1 (?)
 474 ὑπατείας τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Νέου Λέοντος τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου τὸ α 5331 1
 480 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Φλαυῖου Ζήνωνος τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου τὸ γ 5332 1
 493 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Φλαυῖου Ἀναστασίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Φλαυῖου Προφῶ του
 λαμπροτάτου 5337 2
 513 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαυῖαν Παύλου καὶ Μοσχίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων 5339 1
 572 ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτῶν (Φλ. Ἰουστῖνου) γαληνότητος τὸ β 5340 2-3
 575 ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτῶν (Φλ. Ἰουστῖνου) γαληνότητος τὸ β 5341 1

VIII. INDICTIONS AND ERAS

(a) Indictions

- 1st indiction, ἀρχὴ 2nd 5337 3 (= 492/3, 493/4)
 2nd indiction [5337 9] (= 493/4)
 4th indiction 5332 1 (= 480/81)
 5th indiction 5329 2, 9 (= 466/7), [5332 9] (= 481/2), 5340 3 (= 571/2)
 6th indiction 5324 8 (= 437/8), [5330 6 (?)] (= 467/8), 5333 2, [4] (= 482/3), 5339 2 (= 512/13), 5342 3 (6th century)
 7th indiction [5325 7–8], [5326 6–7] (= 438/9), 5342 3 (6th century)
 8th indiction [5334 3] (= 484/5)
 8th indiction, ἀρχὴ 9th 5341 2 (= 574/5, 575/6)
 12th indiction 5328 3 (= 458/9), 5338 3, 4 (= 503/4)
 13th indiction 5331 1 (= 474/5)
 14th indiction 5331 6–7 (= 475/6)

(b) Eras

- 113/82 [5324 7–8, 5325 7] (= 436/7)
 114/83 5326 6 (= 437/8)
 135/104 5328 3 (= 458/9)
 143/112 5329 9 (= 466/7)
 144/113 [5330 6 (?)] (= 467/8)
 151/120 5131 6 (= 474/5)
 157/126 [5332 9] (= 480/81)
 159/128 5333 4 (= 482/3)
 161/130 5334 3 (= 484/5)
 170/139 [5337 9] (= 493/4)
 180/149 5338 4 (= 503/4)
 248/217 5340 3 (= 571/2)
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 3 July 437 5325 2
 3 June 459 5328 3
 28 September 466 5329 8–9
 2 October 466 5329 1–2
 25 July–23 August 467? [5330 1–2]
 30 September 467? [5330 5–6]
 27 September 474 5331 1
 8 December 480 5332 1
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 28 September–27 October 484 5334 3
 2 December 503 5338 3–4
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XII. PERSONAL NAMES

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 Ἀνακτάσιος, Fl. *see* Index VII s.v.
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 Herodes *alias* Psenatymis, ggf.
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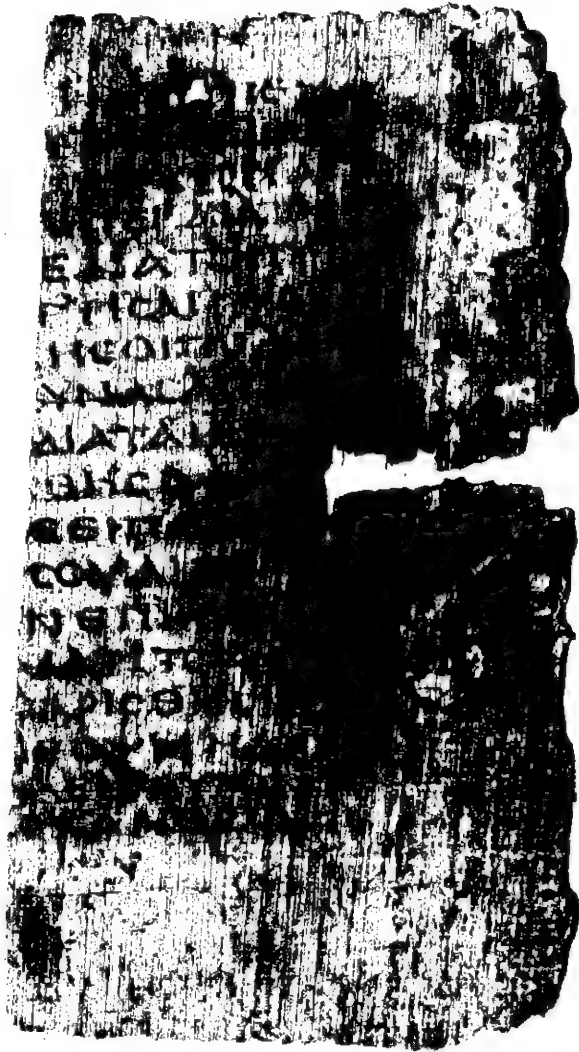
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5290



5309



5336





5299 (reduced)



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)



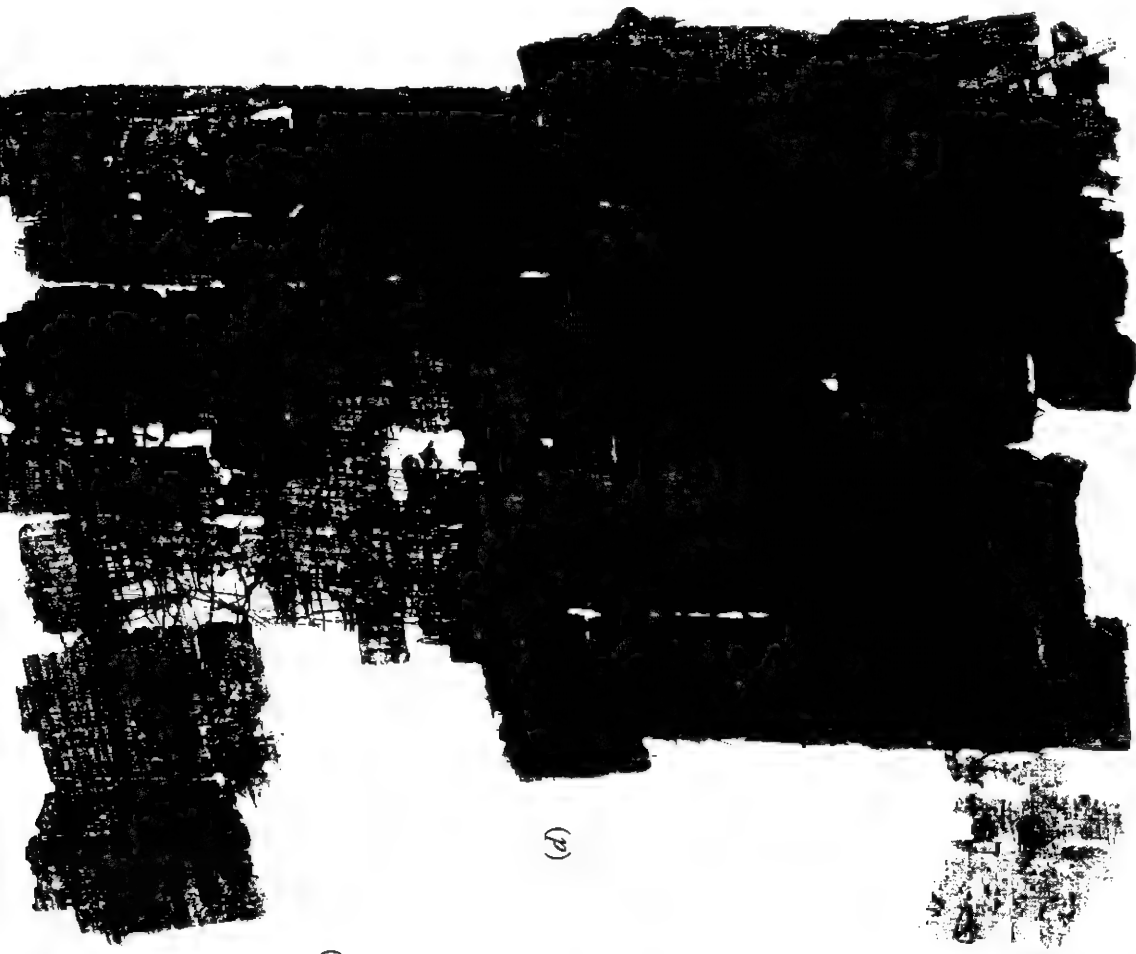
(f)



(g)



(h)

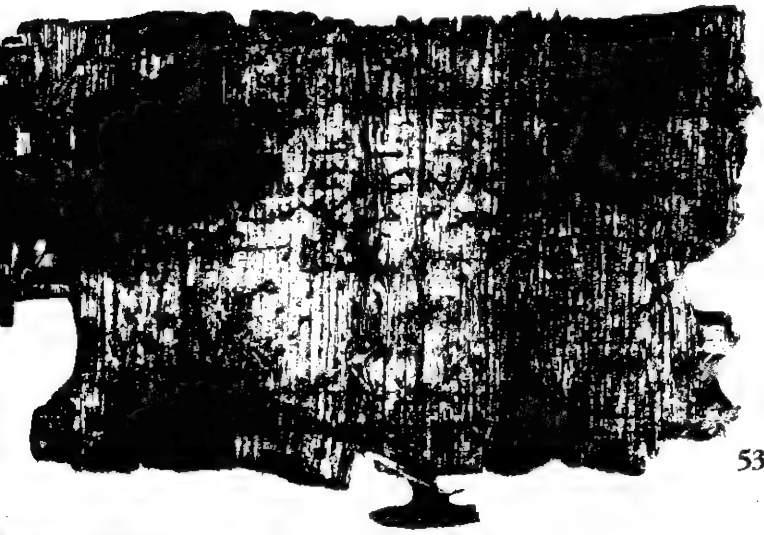




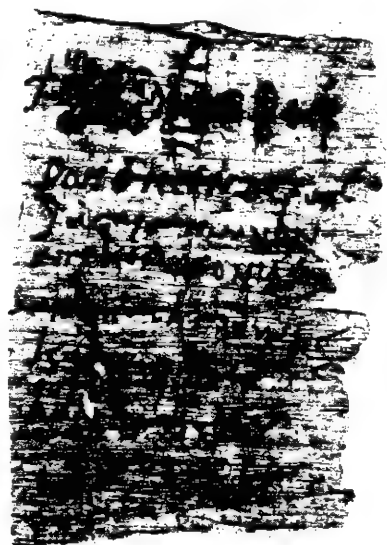
5306



5307



5314

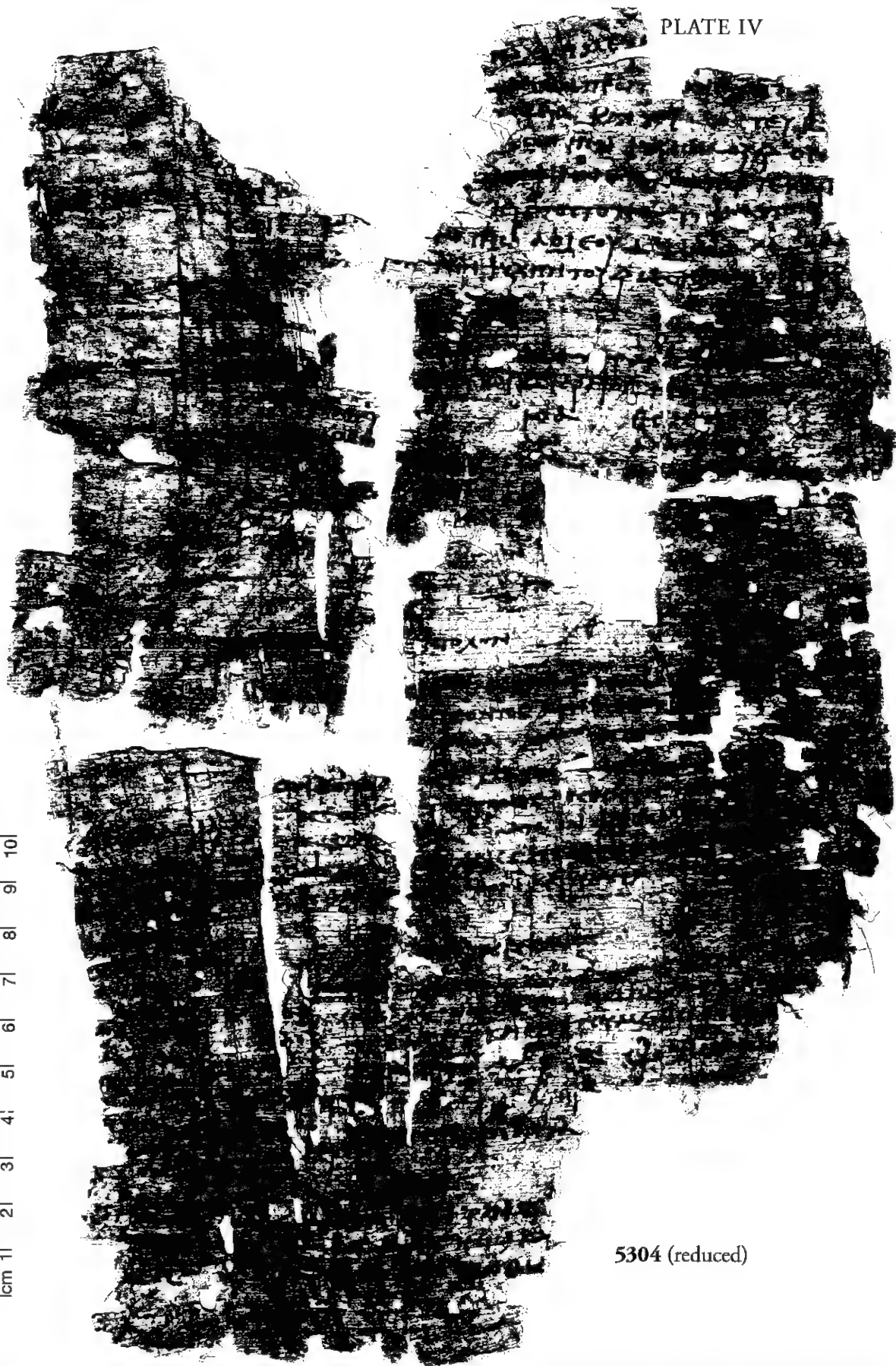


5311



5298

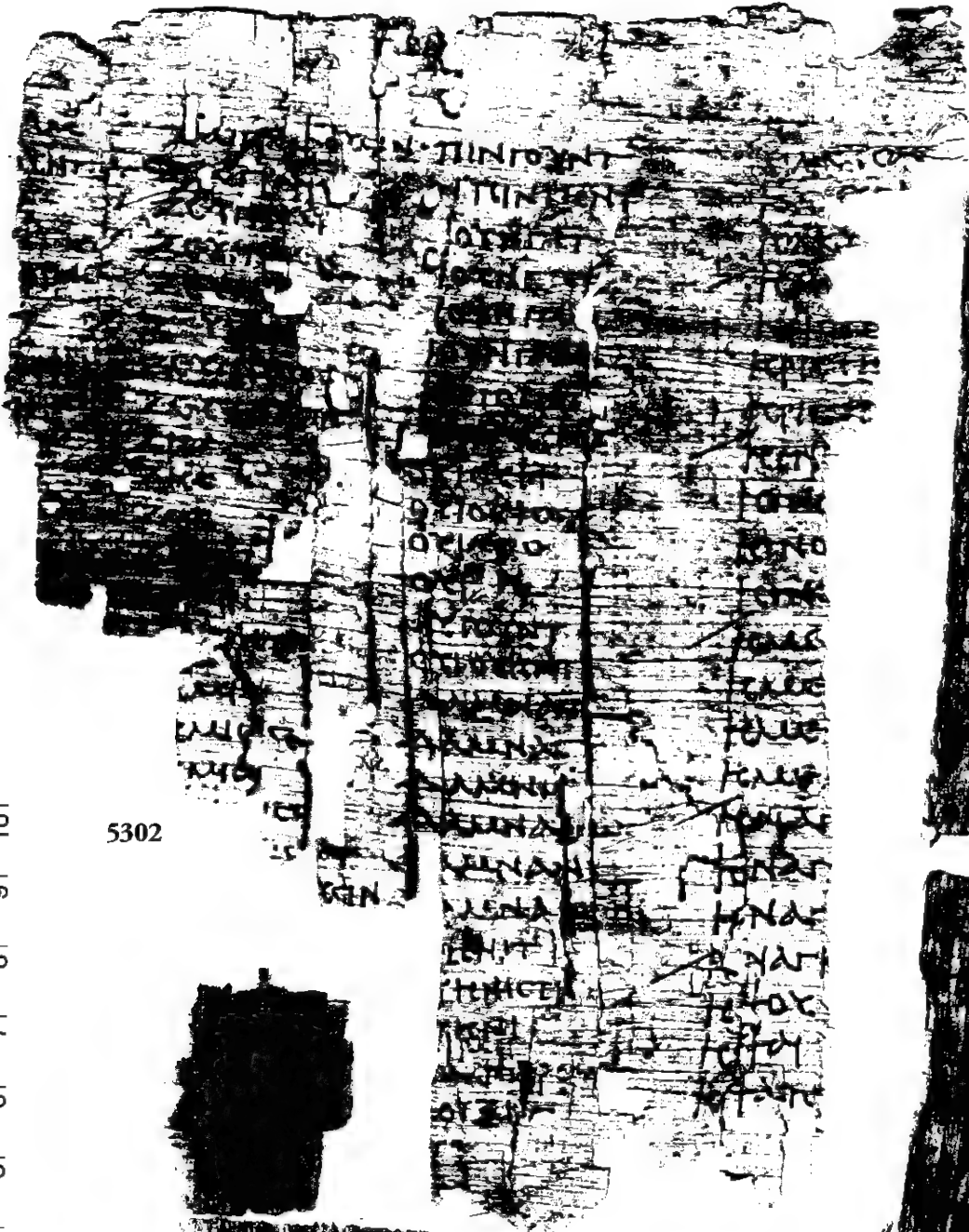




5304 (reduced)



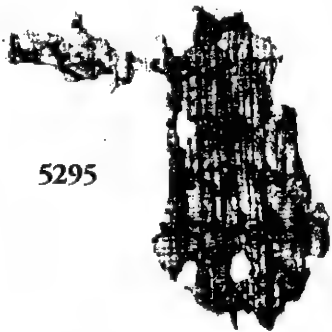
5315 (reduced)



5302



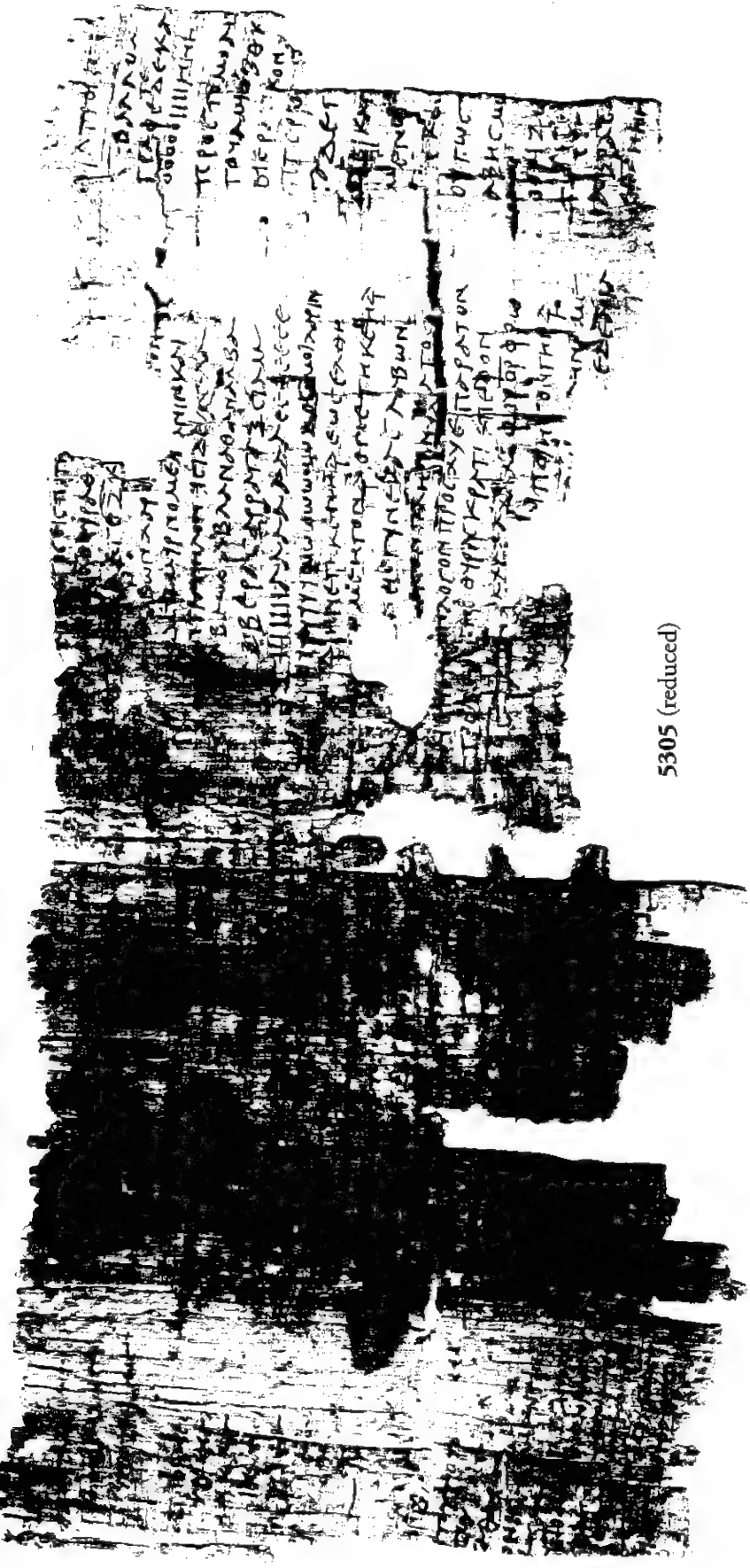
5296 fr. 1



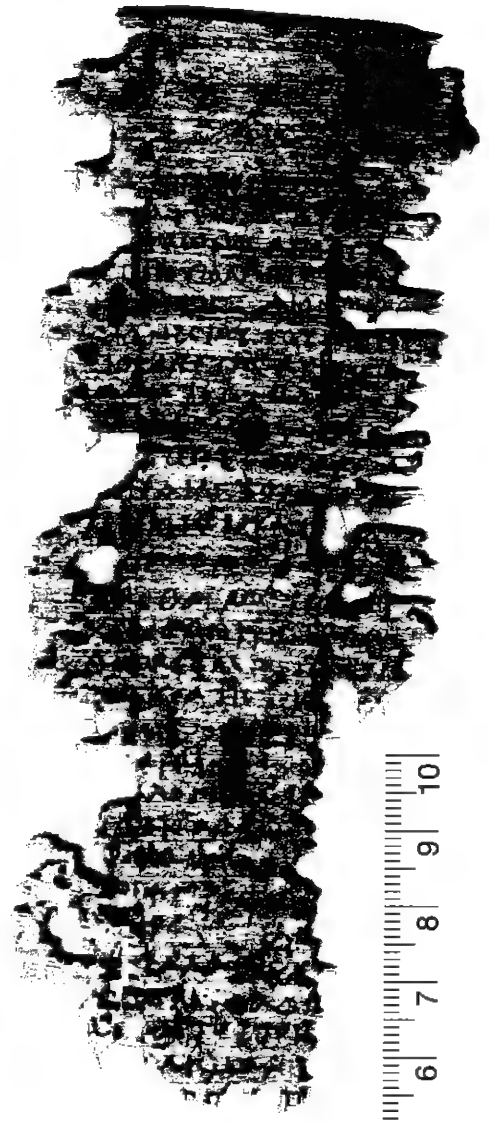
5295



5296 fr. 2



5305 (reduced)

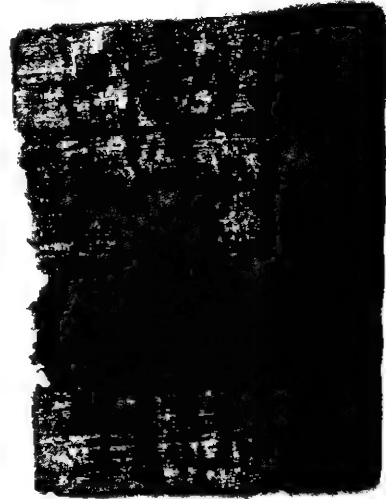


5316

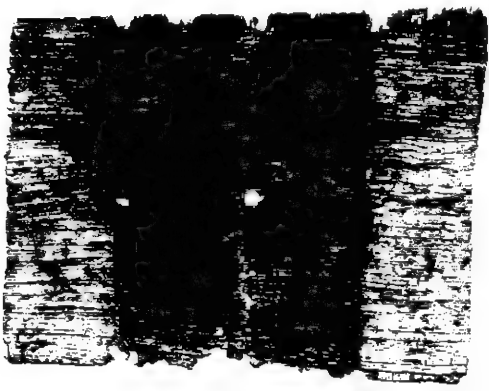




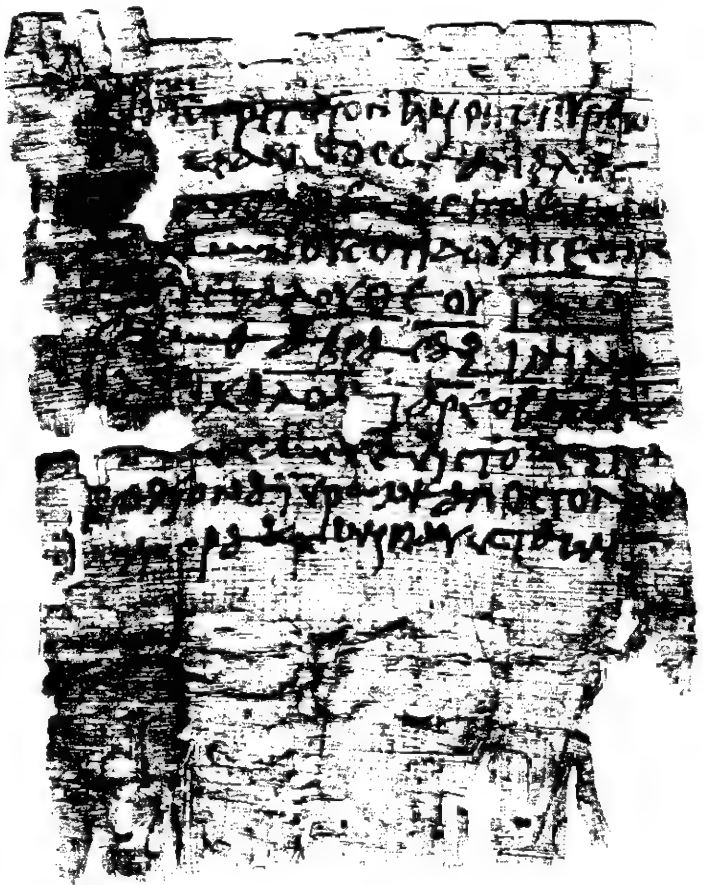
5312



5313 front



5313 back



5308

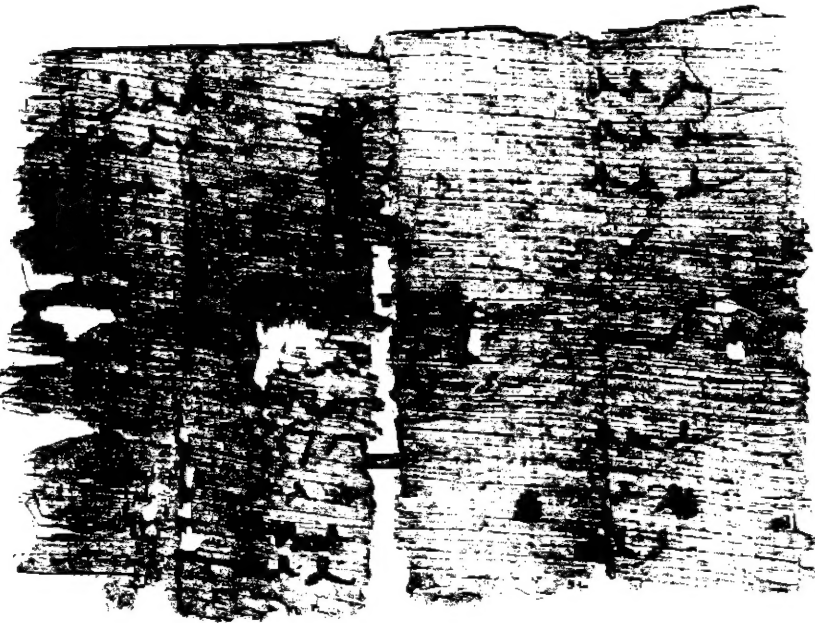




5343



5303



5310



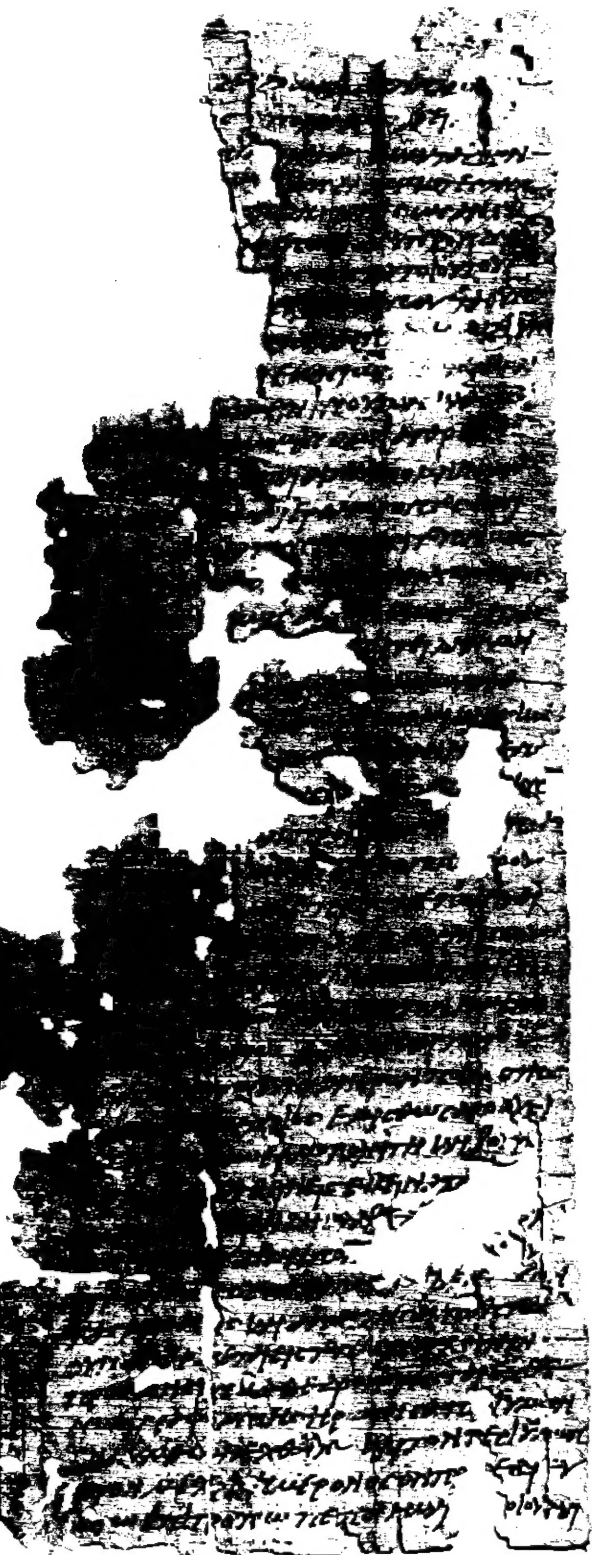
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5294

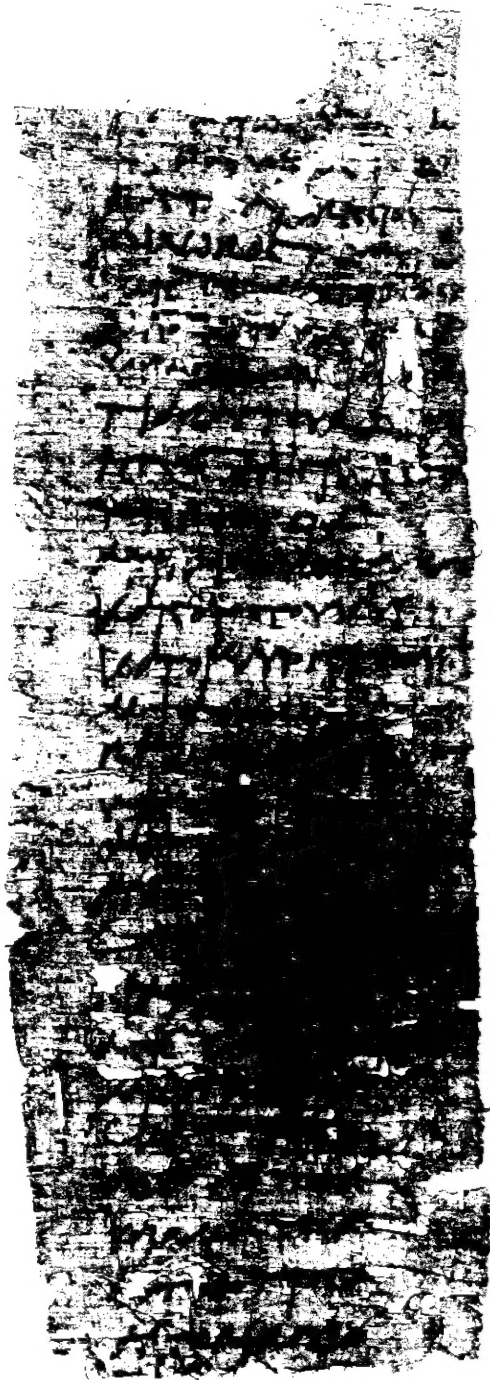
fr. 74



5293 back (top)



5321 front (reduced)



5318





5319



5322

